# SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

of

# Lord Sinha

WITH A PORTRAIT AND A

FIRST
EDITION

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# PREFACE

THIS is the first attempt to present to the public a comprehensive and exhaustive collection of the speeches and writings of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Sinha of Raipur. The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains Lord Sinha's Speeches delivered at the Congress, and at the Bengal and Imperial Legislative Councils, his contributions to the discussions of the Imperial War Conference on Reciprocity between India and the Dominions, his lucid and masterly exposition of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals and his Maiden Speech in the House of Lords. Besides there are discourses on social and educational matters as also interviews with press representatives in England and India.

Part II contains the full text of his oral and written evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Services in India.

Readers will also appreciate the appendix containing the comments made by the British and the Indian press on the occasion of his elevation to the House of Lords and on his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India.

The book ends with the full text of the proceedings of the Dinner given to him at the London Savoy Hotel when the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, and Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Bikanir and the Aga Khan

spoke in high terms of the exceptional qualifications of Lord Sinha to the responsible office to which he has been called.

The Sketch of Lord Sinha's life and the index provided at the end of the volume will, it is hoped, add to the usefulness of the collection.

MADRAS,
*August, 1919.*

THE PUBLISHERS.

# LORD SINHA :
# A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Baron Sinha of Raipur occupies to-day (1919) a unique position in Indian public life, in the largest sense of that term. In a nation emerging from autocracy and tutelage to breathe the atmosphere of freedom the period of transition is marked by unusual excitement aroused by the spread of patriotic ideas and soul-stirring ideals, and the position of those among the subject peoples who may be invited by the ruling power to assist in the task of Government and place before them the point of view of the people is one of great delicacy and responsibility demanding courage, clearness of vision, steadfastness of purpose and strength to face the waves of passing unpopularity. The difficulties in the case of Sir Satyendra when he accepted the office of the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council were rendered all the greater because it devolved upon him to justify the great experiment initiated by Lord Morley and enable it to be broadened into a policy. How admirably the subject of this sketch acquitted himself in the office to the satisfaction of the Government and of the people is a matter which is well within the knowledge of the Indian public who are on the eve of great constitutional changes, and it furnishes a striking assurance as to the manner in which he may be expected to discharge the great responsibilities of the new office of Under-Secretary of State for India to which he has been appointed.

In the words of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir uttered on a recent memorable occasion: " Lord Sinha holds the wonderful record of being the first Indian appointed Standing Counsel and afterwards Advocate-General in Bengal, the first Indian to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the first Indian to be made King's Counsel; the first Indian statesman to be a Privy Councillor and to be a member of His Majesty's Government, and of course, the first Indian Peer. His country is justly proud of this great Indian who has led the way in so many spheres with such conspicious merit and success."

He has never lost touch with the public; he was for many years before he came into prominence, a humble camp-follower, as he has said, in the Congress, he was raised, by popular franchise, to the place of President of the Indian National Congress, the highest position to which the will of the people can raise one of their own, and his views on public questions have been ever those of a patriotic, sober, just-minded and ardent Indian. Surely, one who has earned the confidence of both the Government and the people in such a striking degree deserves an abiding place in the memory of his countrymen.

## EARLY LIFE

The Sinhas of Raipur in the district of Birbhum trace their descent, according to brief biographical sketches that have appeared in the public press, from an ancient family of Utter Ralri Kayasthas which had sent out many ramifications throughout Bengal. The Sinhas were well-to-do people with position and prestige, owned

Zamindari property and were trusted servants and adherents of Raja Chitra Sen of Semrupagarh towards the closing years of the eighteenth century. Mr. Sinha's father, Mr. Sitikanta Sinha, was a munsiff under the East India Company and later a Suddér Amin and died in 1865. Mr. Sinha is the youngest of four brothers; the eldest was the Government Pleader of Birbhum, the second looked after the family estate and the third was the well-known Major N. P. Sinha, who retired after a successful career in the Indian Medical Service. The youngest child was born in 1863 and early in life he lost the advantage of his plastic mind being moulded by the informed and instructed intelligence of his father, though his mother supplied the want to the extent that was possible for her. Mr. Sinha received his early education in the Birbhum Government School and it is said that there he was known to be a quiet, industrious and bright student who strenuously applied himself to his studies. He passed the Matriculation examination in 1877 with credit, joined the Calcutta Presidency College and passed the Intermediate examination two years later in the first class. In the next year he married the only daughter of a Zamindar. Then came an opportunity which proved to be the turning point of his life. His father had left ten thousand rupees in deposit with the firm of Erskine and Co., and Mr. N. P. Sinha who had just then attained majority came into possession of this amount. He was then a student of the Calcutta Medical College and the prospects of students who come out after a tedious and hard life in Indian Colleges were, as now, very poor. The bright idea occurred to him that

if only he had the money, he could go to England and qualify himself for the I. M. S., and the timely in-coming of this money and the ardour of his younger brother who himself desired to accompany him fixed his resolution. Prejudice against foreign travel had then not died out and the young hopefuls well knew that once their relations came to know of their determination, their prospects of proceeding to England would diminish and obstacles would be placed in their way. The preparations, therefore, were made in secret and they set out in the year 1881, having a start of only a bare hour over their relatives, who, getting scent of the object of the runaways, chased them to Diamond Harbour where they found, to their chagrin, that the birds were out of their reach. Well may Mr. Sinha's countrymen congratulate themselves that this pursuit proved infructuous.

Once in England Mr. Sinha pursued his studies with zeal and unremitting energy. He joined the Lincoln's Inn where, before long, he showed the stuff of which he was made. He attained high proficiency in Roman Law, thanks to his knowledge of Latin and won appreciation at the hands of Dr. Hunter. It is one of the rare privileges of student life in England that really capable Indians, at least a few of them, are enabled to move and breathe in the atmosphere hallowed and purified by the presence of brilliant, literary and scientific stars. It was Mr. Sinha's peculiar fortune to have been able to become acquainted with distinguished Englishmen like James (now Viscount) Bryce, Frederic Harrison and others. Mr. Sinha turned his opportunities to good account; his patient and earnest study was responsible for his earning a scholarship of £50 a year for

four years for the study of Roman Law, Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law and International Law. Other rewards and prizes open to distinguished law students came easily within his grasp and he obtained also the Lincoln's Inn Scholarship of £100 tenable for three years. He was called to the Bar in 1886 and finished his education, as few Indians are able to do, by an extensive tour in the continent and by learning various European languages, a consummation which should have greatly aided him in the acquisition of knowledge and in broadening his outlook.

## His Career at the Bar

Mr. Sinha joined the Calcutta bar at the age of twenty-three and he had to wait only for eight years to attain a fair measure of success. This period of waiting, as lawyers who have become eminent in the profession can well testify, is a most trying one to the young aspirant; the senior men seem indifferent and the clients appear awfully slow to appreciate the ability of the juniors who do the drudgery, prepare the cases for the 'leaders' and contribute to their success. Patience is apt to take wings and fly and leave the victim a prey to despondency. But possession of even moderate competency and faith and perseverance on the part of a beginner endowed with natural ability and industry dispels this gloom and infuses hope; steady application to books and careful preparation of such cases as he is able to get lay a solid foundation the value of which will appear in coming years. Mr. Sinha, early in his professional career, developed those essential qualities which lead a man on to success. His sincerity, hard work and

cool courage were noted and appreciated; his quickness of grasp, clear headedness and penetrating intellect enabled him to master the intricacies of complicated cases with ease; and his wide knowledge of law and his power of rapid comprehension, imparted strength and lucidity to his presentment. By the year 1894 he had become fairly well established in practice and within the next five years he had come to occupy a pre-eminent position in the bar, partly owing to the passing away of the bright luminaries who had shed such lustre on the legal firmament and on the public life, and partly owing to the phenomenal prestige and reputation he had gained as an able, painstaking and brilliant advocate. Mr. Sinha had not perhaps the dazzling wit or sparkling genius which astonish the world, but as often cover up indolence and indifference, nor the deep erudition or fine culture which bring on name and fame but fail to satisfy the inexorable mistress of law. Endowed with natural shrewdness and plenty of commonsense, accustomed to hard and strenuous work, thoroughly versed in law and procedure and well grounded in legal principles and maxims, Mr Sinha grappled with his cases with perfect ease and presented them in such a natural, pleasing, and persuasive fashion and in such simple, direct and unadorned language that drew spontaneous admiration from his colleagues and respect from the bench. His keenness of perception and unerring judgment of men made him a fine cross-examiner, and his power of lucid exposition in which he made use of plain, simple but well-chosen words was striking to behold. When a lawyer once reaches the topmost ladder, it never rains but pours, and Mr, Sinha was engaged in almost every

important case. His marked independence and freedom from prepossessions of any kind made him a power and gained for him many good friends and few enemies. It is no wonder that the Government of India appointed him in the year 1903 as Standing Counsel, and there was no other advocate, Indian or European, who was so qualified by reason of his practice, position and influence as Mr. Sinha was to hold the place with distinction and credit. Three years later, he was appointed as acting Advocate-General and in 1908, he was made permanent in the office, the first time that an Indian had been chosen for that responsible post. By this time Mr. Sinha had become the undisputed leader of the bar and his sociability, amiable disposition and fine temper enabled him to occupy a high position in the Indian and European society of Calcutta.

## Views on Indian Politics

His energies were so greatly concentrated on his professional duties that he found little time to bestow on the pursuit of politics. Many successful and brilliant advocates have made their mark in public life in India; a few have even carried on their activities in both spheres at the same time with equal success. But the question whether and to what extent professional men with standing and large income should evince practical interest in the exciting game of politics with its inevitable tendency to divert attention from their career, is one on which acute difference of opinion exists. It is no doubt true, that the country has a right to demand the benefit of their ability and experience, but it is equally undeniable that the best judges of the measure of their

capacity to do that service are themselves and not the public or any portion of it, though it is rarely that the many-voiced multitude exercises self-restraint and judgment in its criticism of persons, especially when they happen to be influential and successful. There is another mistaken notion that is very commonly held. Abstention from active participation in public activities is often put down to ignorance of the needs and requirements of the country and of the trend of public opinion. There is no other body of men in any country in the world who are, by habit and training, more vigilant and better informed on matters of general interest than lawyers, characteristics which the outside world only become aware of when they are exhibited in political controversies and polemical discussions Mr. Sinha was an active observer of current events, a close student of public affairs who, however, owing to absorption in legal work, stored methodically his impressions and conclusions in his well-filled brain to be drawn out in future, when the occasion for it arose. An Indian of his position, learning and tradition could not manage to be oblivious of his surroundings, and of the new impulses stirring the soul of India. But, with his habitual practice of careful sifting of evidence and impartial weighing of arguments, he always tested the aspirations of his country-men with a view to see whether they were practical, reasonable and sound. He never allowed his impulses to get the better of his judgment, but, at the same time, his robust patriotism never degenerated into mendicancy. His natural reserve and modesty combined with his solid worth were hardly calculated to push him into prominence and he always

chose to remain a follower. In 1896, however, when he was thirty-three years old, he took part in the Calcutta Congress and moved a resolution recording the opinion of the Congress that it was desirable that, in future, no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct should have been established to the satisfaction of a public tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. Like many other resolutions of the Congress this recommendation has remained to this day a pious desire on the part of the better mind of India, which has been adopted only in rare cases, though it is but proper to add that, like many of them, this suggestion will very likely be adopted at no distant time. For, one of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is as follows: "Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a commission to advise, consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him." Nor were his opinions on such questions as the causes of unrest in India, the Bengal partition, industrial depression and acute poverty, very different from those of his countrymen, though he expressed most of them in public only after his first brief spell of office. He claimed the demand of Indians to govern their own country as a matter of right and not either as a concession or reward of loyalty. He

considered Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal as a mistake, particularly in the manner in which it was carried out and held the view that the great soreness produced in Bengal by that measure was not likely to subside for a long time. Mr. Sinha has continued to be a warm and strenuous advocate of a forward industrial policy, and one of the potent causes of unrest, in his view, is the feeling of helplessness in regard to the protection of nascent industries. In regard to the practice of torture of prisoners by the Police in order to extort confessions he said (1911) to an interviewer :—"There you touch the weakest spot in the administration of justice, but you know that measures are in contemplation to remedy this state of things." The period of Indian unrest between 1906 and 1909 was one of great anxiety and strain and it was felt that unless liberal measures were adopted to admit Indians to responsible association with Government, the country would be bought to the brink of an irretrievable disaster. It was a gracious act of Providence that during those troublous times England and India had the rare fortune of having honest John as the Secretary of State for India, because it was his rare political acumen, broad, human sympathies, intrepid insight into the necessities of the hour and clear and bold conception of remedial measures that saved the situation, diverted Indian public activities into safe channels and provided opportunities for Indians to place their grievances before the authorities in a responsible manner. It is to his wise forethought and righteous resolve to redeem the pledges of Queen Victoria that India owes the inauguration of a great and valuable experiment—the admission of Indians

into Indian Executive Councils—which at that time created a sensation in England, astonished the Anglo-Indian world but was welcomed with rapturous enthusiasm in India.

THE APPOINTMENT

As an example of the careful and wary methods adopted by Mr. Morley it is profitable to follow the wise discriminating way by which he obtained support to his policy and this is as good a place as any other to trace the development of the idea of appointing an Indian to the Executive Council of the Viceroy as revealed in his "Recollections". The Indian public had carried on an agitation in this respect for a number of years. Presidents of some previous Congresses had dwelt on the necessity for the admission of Indians into the Viceroy's and Provincial Executive Councils, and from 1904 onwards, the Congress had been asking for this reform. The motive underlying the appointment is thus explained by Lord Morley: "A member of the Viceroy's Executive Council holds one of the most important offices in the whole system. Hitherto Europeans only had been raised to a post so responsible and powerful, though memorable assurances had been given in the great Charters of 1833 and 1858 that neither race nor creed should be a bar to employment in the public service." In that historic letter which Mr. Morley wrote to Lord Minto on June 15, 1906, foreshadowing the new policy, he gave just a hint of what shall have to be done: "I suppose the notion of a Native in your Executive Council would not do at all. Is that certain? I dare say it is and it would frighten that nervous personage, (naturally nervous) the

Anglo-Indian." This was the unpretentious manner in which, as Mr. Morley told the Cabinet in 1909 when the final decision was taken, a topic of greater importance than which had not ever been brought before it, was first mooted. From June 1906, when the subject was first mentioned, to March 1909, when Mr. Sinha was appointed, a period of almost three years, Mr. Morley, with that tact, judgment and persuasion which all the world has learnt to associate with his noble name, broke down barrier after barrier which lay in front of him, brought his colleagues to his way of thinking and by alternate threat and impassioned appeal to abiding principles of state action, rendered opposition ineffective and reached the final goal as few else endowed with less courage and less faith in democratic principles, could have done. In July 5, Lord Minto responded: "I have very nearly, on several occasions, suggested to you the possibility of a native gentleman on my Executive Council, but thought it would be premature to say anything about it." Evidently he found reactionary forces around him too strong for him, for, a week later we find him writing, "I would for the present put aside the possibility of a native Member of Council." But Morley lost no time in giving public expression, in as guarded a manner as possible, to what was passing in his mind. He quoted in the House of Commons in August that famous sentence in Queen Victoria's Proclamation regarding the eligibility of Indians to occupy the highest posts and said that the words 'as far as may be' which were somewhat misinterpreted in the past were never meant to be construed in a narrow, literal, restricted or petti-fogging sense. He thought a definite and deliberate move

ought to be made, and assured the House that the Viceroy, a man of a firm texture of mind, had no intention "of riding off on a narrow interpretation of a promise which was as wise and politic as it was just." After formally placing the matter before a Committee of his Council in August, he told Morley in September: "The more I think of it the more inclined I am for a Native Member on the Viceroy's Executive Council, but I do not want to pledge myself to an opinion before the matter is threshed out." Writing again next month, the Viceroy, says Morley, thought a Native Member would be the best answer to the demand for a greater share in the Government of India, but was inclined to doubt whether British opinion in India was ripe. He was, however, impressed with the preponderance of opinion in favour of the innovation. Meanwhile, the question was being vigorously canvassed in England and in India, and in November, we find Morley saying that he had pretty well mastered the discussion though he had not formed a definite judgment, that the row made about the Ilbert Bill and the fuss about the Fuller episode showed the easily excitable frame of mind of the Anglo-Indian community, that he was quite alive to the risk of going too fast for European sentiment in India but that it was not possible to resist admission of an Indian in face of the fact that two out of four of the Viceroy's Committee on reforms were not afraid of the step. Finding that the matter was delayed on the other side, the Secretary of State expressed his surprise to the Viceroy that even on this simple matter no definite proposal had yet emanated from the latter who was all for the experiment. Chafing at the inordi-

nate delay, Morley wrote in his characteristic style: "Well, I am a great believer in the virtues of collective consultation, and I am all for taking time and giving opportunity to allow men to come round to your own judgment. But time is one thing, and eternity is another. And I wholly fail to see what new material, either of argument or fact, time is likely to bring to view."

### PROPOSAL HELD UP FOR A TIME

How intimately the question was bound up with the personal aspect has not been realised by the public. What would ultimately have happened if there was not a man of commanding position and first-rate ability like Mr. Sinha is more than one can assert. Sometime early in 1907, Lord Minto, in one of his letters, appears to have suggested Mr. Sinha's name as a possible incumbent of the office of Indian Member. Morley wrote to the Viceroy in February recognising his fluctuation of mind and admitting that he too was without vehement conviction either way. "Only," he added "when you named a man whom you would recommend for my consideration(—), I began to think that probably the thing would have to move forward." He further said that the Viceroy's hesitation was understandable in view of the bitter opposition of his colleague, (evidently Lord Kitchener) and violent British opposition. It is not surprising also that when an actual despatch came from the Viceroy in April 1907, Morley began to perceive what grave obstacles stood in the way. His Council was opposed and when the proposal was placed before the Cabinet, the opposition was so strong that, for a time at least, the proposal was kept back. Morley has given, in

a succinct form the considerations which weighed with the Cabinet: (1) the Viceroy's Council and the India Council were ranged against it; (2) there was the possible risk of an Anglo-Indian fit of wrath and fear; (3) Ripon 'whom nobody will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims,' was hostile and so also Elgin and Fowler, mainly on the secrecy argument. It is one of the saddest features of the connection between England and India that fear of opposition, often of the most sordid and outrageous kind, should influence even the most sympathetic and noble of statesmen either to abandon or postpone projects of reform. Morley felt it; it is not, he admitted, the most solid or satisfactory of reasons and wished it did not prevail. But prejudice did prevail and it is due to Morley's firmness and strength of conviction that the proposal was only put off and not abandoned.

The question assumed some definite importance, so far as the public were concerned, in August 1907 by the appointment of two Indians on the Council of India—a material advance, as Morley writes, towards bold assertion of the great principle at stake, but during the whole course of the next year, that is 1908, nothing definite was arrived at, though Morley was influencing public opinion inside and outside. For instance, he told the House of Commons in January of this year, in reply to a definite suggestion made by Mr. Smeaton that an Indian should be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, that neither he nor the Viceroy would fall short of some such application of democratic principles. In October the Council of India voted against the proposal by 5 votes to 3, but all the same, in announcing his reform proposals

in the House of Lords in December following, he said that there was nothing to prevent the Secretary of State from submitting the name of an Indian to His Majesty and that he would do so if a vacancy arose during his tenure of office. Needless to say, the proposal, made for the first time in such a public and definite manner, created a sensation, and opposition to it day by day assumed proportions. It was a great comfort to him that the appointment did not need parliamentary sanction, as he told the Viceroy; the House of Lords would have thrown it out, though in the other place it would have received a warm welcome. During the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill, the question came up a good deal and Lord Lansdowne and Co. denounced the measure outright. It was then, in a memorable and classic passage, ringing with the true note of high-mindedness, for which Indians will remember it for many a long day, that Lord Morley presented the case in his incomparably superb fashion. It is valuable as much for fine sentiments finely expressed, as for the true, unerring delineation of the character and qualifications of Mr. Sinha. Lord Morley said:—

"Suppose there were in Calcutta an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his profession, a man of unstained professional and personal repute, in close touch with European society, and much respected, and the actual holder of important legal office. Am I to say to this man: "In spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit, in spite of your undisputed fitness; in spite of the emphatic declaration of 1833 that fitness is to be the criterion of eligibility, in spite of the noble promise of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858—a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it, and

ashamed if he tries to betray or to mock it—in spite of all this, usage and prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you but must instead fish up a stranger to India from Lincoln's Inn or the Temple?" Is there one of your Lordships who would envy the Secretary of State, who had to hold language of that kind to a meritorious candidate, one of the King's equal subjects?"

The concluding stages of the controversy were not marked by harmony. Early in March the Cabinet unanimously voted for it having read the Viceroy's account of Mr. Sinha, but His Majesty King Edward VII could not reconcile himself to it. He disliked it and protested against the whole procedure, but admitted that there was no alternative against a unanimous Cabinet. Lord Morley, indeed, in finally sending the formal submission, urged the race and colour argument, etc., all the time afraid that His Majesty would count all these no more than idle words. At last the final plunge was taken, but the heavens did not fall. There was some amount of courtesy tears shed by opposition papers, because Mr. Sinha did not possess, in their view, rare political virtues "as if all these noble qualities were inherent in any lawyer that I could have fished out of Lincoln's Inn . or even as if they are to be found in *all* the members of the Executive Council as it stands to-day. Delicacy forbids me to name one or two of your rather dubious paragons."

## Position of Indian Member

Some controversy has raged over the question of the position of the Indian Member of Indian Executive Councils. The primary object of the appointments was that repeatedly stated by Lord Morley and reiterated

quite recently (July 1918), when he said: "Looking back upon that controversy, he would say that the most essential of all reforms was the adoption of the principle that no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of Government." But is it not also his duty to place the public view of matters before the Government and see to it that they respect it? Where a Member differs from Government on a subject which affects his conscience, it is his lookout to decide whether, consistently with his inner self, he will continue in office. But where he differs from the public point of view should he merely inform the Government of his opinion and that of the public and leave the responsibility for the decision on them, or should he forget for the time being that he has any individuality or conscience and slavishly hammer at the thing because such an act suits the prevailing public temper? Would not, on the other hand, a systematic exhibition of contempt for popular views amount to a flagrant violation of one of the objects of the system, that is, of representing the Indian view of questions? The problem is one of those which are bound to arise in the transition period when Indians so raised owe their position to the Government but the system itself is the result of public agitation, and unwise appointments are responsible for much of the fuss that is raised. It may be remarked that Lord Morley was quite aware that though the system owes its inception only to the race and colour principle, the Governor-General-in-Council will be all the more likely to transact business wisely if he has a responsible Indian adviser at his elbow.

## THE RESIGNATION

If Mr. Sinha's appointment, the various stages of which were followed with such breathless interest in India, gave such unalloyed satisfaction, his resignation after about a year and a half surprised, pained and astonished the public. During his brief tenure, the new reforms of Lords Minto and Morley were introduced and he had a good deal to do with the framing of rules and regulations under the Act. Unfortunately also, repressive legislation was also passed, a topic on which naturally Sir S. P. Sinha has consistently refused to be drawn out. Earl Minto, however, once stated that he had to appeal to his Law Member when the latter disagreed with a certain measure, and wished to give up office, brought him to his view and induced him to remain. Apart from this incident, there was no truth in the wild stories invented to account for the resignation. Sir S. P. Sinha himself has repudiated the suggestion that his resignation was due to influences from below, whatever that may mean, or to his exclusion from a supposed inner circle in the Executive Council. His desire to lay down the office, which he did in the autumn of 1910, against the unanimous desire of his friends, official and non-official, European and Indian, was due to personal considerations. Lord Minto has publicly expressed his obligation to Sir Satyendra for the valuable advice which he always gave him and the 'inner circle' was a myth invented to explain an apparently inexplicable phenomenon. Law is a jealous mistress, a tempting sorceress who never releases her firm hold on her victims; she ensures independence, she brings money and she affords a peculiar charm and satisfaction to her votaries.

After his re-entry into the profession he regained the predominant position in the bar which he had held before 1909, and his success was phenomenal. The esteem and respect in which he was held by his countrymen was illustrated when he was elected as President of the Indian National Congress of 1915 held in Bombay, which gave him a royal welcome in December of that year.

### THE CONGRESS ADDRESS

That address was a model of close reasoning, of arguments ably marshalled, of Indian demands concisely and precisely stated. There was admirable dignity, sincerity and force throughout the performance and if there were no brilliant flashes of rhetoric or humour, there were solid thoughts and important pronouncements for which his countrymen are beholden to him. The Congress came at the top of deep stirrings of the mind of India, of a formidable wave of democratic feeling which swept over the country. It was a period of intense longing for political progress and realisation of the goal, and the Congress therefore proved to be a landmark in the history of the country. Mr. C. H. (now Sir Chimanlal) Setalvad moved the formal proposition that Sir S. P. Sinha do take the chair and it was seconded by Babu Surendranath Bannerjea and supported by representatives from other Provinces.

### FAITH IN THE BRITISH

An abiding article of faith of Lord Sinha is the unbroken faith in British character, fair play and justice. They have brought peace, security, impartial administration of justice and a stable Government, for which

India cannot be sufficiently grateful. In the course of his address he pointed out:

Political wiseacres tell us that history does not record any precedent in which a foreign nation has with its own hands freed from bondage a people which it has itself conquered. I will not pause to point out, what has been pointed out so often, that India was never conquered in the literal sense of the word and as very properly observed by the late Sir John Seely, India is not a possession of England in the sense of legally being a tributory to England any more than any of her Colonies. Has there been a situation before this in the history of mankind like that of India to-day? Has there been a nation whose ideas of political morality have ever reached those of the great English nation? Has there been another nation which has fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom and liberty of other nations as the English? My faith is based not on emotion, unreasoning sentiment: it rests on the record of what has already been achieved by the undying labours of far-sighted English statesmen and noble-hearted Indian patriots; but those who are still working for the cause and those whose labours are done and whose spirits hover over us to-day and guide and inspire us. The East and the West have met not in vain. The invisible scribe who has been writing the most marvellous history that ever was written has not been idle. Those who have the discernment and inner vision to see will know that there is only one goal and there is only one path

While he had such abiding faith in the high purpose of the British people, he did not hesitate to call on them to realise the greatness of their trust. He said —

Many of our difficulties in India arise from want of understanding between ourselves and those to whom our destinies are committed. The English people profess the high ideals of Christianity and though there might in many cases have been lapses from these high ideals I believe the better mind of England is always ready to stand by those ideals. At the present

moment there is, from all that I can gather, a great wave of feeling passing over England that many of their misfortunes are directly attributable to a neglect of those ideals. And it rests with those who call themselves the intellectual or educated classes of India to remind the English nation on every occasion that might arise of what those ideals are and what those ideals require in the dealings of England with an ancient people like ourselves whom Providence has placed in their charge.

### SELF-GOVERNMENT

It was because he had this steady, firm faith that he was actuated by a robust optimism regarding the ultimate consummation of India's desire to achieve self-government. He ridiculed, as early as 1911, the preposterous interpretation put on the term 'Swaraj' that it meant independence to be attained by the murder of Europeans; and wondered how people could take it to mean other than self-government. It was not only a question of India's right to obtain self-rule, but consideration of the highest expediency to Great Britain and her lasting interest required that India should be happy, prosperous and self-governed. The picture of the future of India drawn by Lord Haldane and other English statesmen appealed to him—a future "in which Englishmen and Indians will be fellow-citizens of a common empire and of a common and splendid heritage, all of us bringing our special talents to bear co-operatively for the common good of the whole." Autonomy within the Empire was the accepted goal which should be reached in time not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress. There were three obvious methods of reaching the goal. The first was by way of free gift; but this form would not be worth hav-

ing, for it militated against the grand principle of political growth that nations must grow into freedom, and it was not a question of practical politics, in view of the relations which subsisted between England and India. The second method was by wresting it from England which was unthinkable. A few misguided youths with perverted imagination may think it feasible ; but to the great bulk of Indians, the idea was abhorrent ; it would retard and obstruct progress ; it was unrighteous and criminal; it would alienate the sympathies of Englishmen; it would provoke the bitterest sentiments, and would proclaim our incapacity for self-government. He therefore fervently appealed in his address "to all sections of our people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of these dastardly crimes which besmirch the fair fame of our country and I pray to them so to co-operate with the authorities as to render their detection and punishment absolutely certain." The only alternative left was to attain our goal by utilising our present opportunities to the full, by patient and earnest endeavour and by gradual, wary advance. He warmly defended the Minto-Morley reforms against unjust criticism and said that the wise use of opportunities would inevitably end in the grant of power.

### Desire for Announcement

But, in order to infuse hope and trust in the younger men, Sir Satyendra urged on numerous occasions the need for the declaration of India's goal by the British Government, and it is due to his clear gaze and foresight that the demand made by him for the first time and in an authoritative manner, should have attained

fruition in August, 1917. In the course of his presidential address he said :—

I felt—I trust without undue presumption—that having been in the inner Councils of the Government for however short a time, it was peculiarly my duty to act as your spokesman on this occasion (applause). It is in that belief that I appeal to the British nation to declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire, to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal and to furnish her escort on the long and weary road. Such a declaration will be the most distinguished way of marking their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—for loyalty and her devotion to the Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people far more than any mere specific political reforms. These latter may fall short of the high expectations raised by utterances of the responsible English statesman as to the future place of India in the Empire and they may cause general disappointment. But an authoritative declaration of policy on the lines I suggest will, without causing such disappointment, carry conviction to the minds of the people that the pace of the administrative reforms will be reasonably accelerated and that henceforth it will be only a question of patient preparation.

## India and the War

Sir Satyendra is proud, along with his countrymen, of the part India has taken in the war. India's rally was spontaneous and the wave of loyalty has touched the hearts of all classes. The war has afforded a splendid opportunity of demonstrating the courage, valour and tenacity of Indian troops and besides a striking proof has been afforded of the wisdom of those who have shown confidence in India and of the fitness of the latter to grasp the dignity and the responsibilities of citizenship. As he has repeatedly stated in public, India

could have done much more if the industrial policy had been more liberal. "The real secret of India's attitude to the war," he told an audience in England, "was firstly that she inherited a civilisation which had always set right above might and, secondly, that she fully realised that her long connection with Great Britain could be made and was going to be made compatible with the self-respect of her people."

### INDIAN INDUSTRIES

Of the deplorable condition of Indian industries and of her poverty, Sir Satyendra has always held very strong views and has always expressed them in strong and emphatic language. He told an interviewer in 1911 that the opinion was widely held in India that without some sort of tariff our industries cannot compete with foreign countries, that this protection was required against England herself and that the feeling of helplessness was one of the causes of unrest. In his Presidential address at the Congress four years afterwards he reiterated these views. "Rich in all the resources of nature, India continues to be the poorest country in the civilised world." After quoting the example of Japan, he continued "In India alone, with the exception of spasmodic efforts, the Government adheres to the exploded *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry is not within the province of the state." He pleaded that it was high time that this policy was abandoned. When in England in the year 1917 in connection with the Imperial War Conference, he spoke in defence of the Indian Cotton duties and at the London Chamber of Commerce emphasised that the resources of

India must not be exploited by other parts of the Empire for their own benefit, that the first aim should be the welfare of India herself and that this would be most advantageous to the Empire itself. Speaking again in July, 1918, Sir S. P. Sinha, referring to India's part in the War, pointed out as follows :—

Brilliant as this record is, I am confident it is the feeling of all patriotic Indians that our contribution and our sacrifices would be still more substantial and decisive if we could only obtain even now the assistance we require to enable us to make our efforts fruitful. (Cheers.) If India had been an industrially advanced and self-contained country on a par with the other great wealth-producing countries of the world, then, by virtue of her position in the East and the volume, extent and variety of her resources, mineral and agricultural, she would have been the chief emporium of military stores, ammunition and ordinance, sufficient not only for her own requirements, but also for export both to the Near and Far East, and to the Dominions overseas. Why has her weight on the scale not been heavier and more decisive? Because her vast and limitless material resources are still undeveloped, because industrially she is still almost in the agricultural stage, and because the policy of trust and far-seeing statesmanship which might have given her a powerful national army has not yet been consistently pursued. (Cheers.)

In a statement which he made in England towards the close of last year he reiterated his views on this subject as follows :—

"It is not," he remarked, "a Constitution alone that is wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of government may be in India, it will be generally admitted that India is and remains a very poor country. India has not been prosperous for a long while past, and is not prosperous now. She desires and demands a place

in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resources, and of the part she has been privileged to bear in this war.

"The industrial development of India is the most essential need of the present moment. Without an increase of prosperity it is useless to expect India to be contented and loyal to its connection with the Empire. Literally millions in India are on the border of starvation. Half the population never has a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It is essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the Constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What is wanted is democratic government, and there is no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country."

### INDIANS AND THE ARMY

In his Presidential address, Sir S. P. Sinha pointed out three matters which, in his opinion, were urgent. Industrial development was one, the position of Indians in the Army was the second of the immediate objects on which Indians had to concentrate their attention. This portion of the address is almost a classic exposition on the subject, and there has hardly been an abler or more reasoned presentment of the case. The reader who desires to inform himself in full of what was said should be referred to the address, but it would suffice for present purposes to state that he desired change of policy in these directions :—

1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or Province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests. We ask that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training

can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. This has no real connection with the three previous claims; but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are attempted to be justified on the same ground of political expediency.

## LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Training in local affairs was the third of the objects emphasised by Sir Satyendra. He laid great store by the opportunities which local self-government offered in ameliorating the condition of the masses and he asked therefore that a liberal policy should be followed. Lord Morley's description of the village as the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system and the importance of making it the starting point of public life appealed to him with great force. In April, 1918, he introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council, as Member in charge of Local Self-Government, a bill in regard to village self-government. The speech was marked by his usual characteristics of lucidity, breadth of view and comprehensive grasp.

## BENGAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In 1917, Sir S. P. Sinha accepted the post of Advocate-General, and later, consented to be appointed member of the Bengal Executive Council. This action on his part created some amount of surprise and those who had decided to their own satisfaction in 1910 that Sir Satyendra had resigned his place of Law

Member for monetary considerations, were now at their wits' end to account for this step, because it involved a very heavy self-sacrifice on his part. With that notorious inconsistency which often characterises the judgment of the common people, those who vehemently disapproved of his resignation of the Law Membership as unpatriotic, now called his entry to the Bengal Executive Council as desertion of the popular cause. There can be no doubt, however, that his acceptance of office was due to his patriotism and high sense of duty because it is said that he had, in view of pressing invitation from high authorities, expressed himself as willing to serve His Majesty when the time came. During the one year he was on the Executive Council, he discharged his duties with great credit. His speeches in the Council were packed with information, he exhibited striking knowledge of questions which he dealt with and always showed great courtesy and good temper in dealing with those who differed in opinion from him. His marked independence gained for him the respect of his colleagues and the admiration of his countrymen and it is believed that on one particular occasion it was his firm and unflinching attitude that saved the Government of Bengal from a critical situation.

### THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

In the first part of 1917, His Majesty's Government decided to invite an Indian representative to assist the Secretary of State in his work at the Imperial War Conference and the choice fell on Sir S. P. Sinha, and it was universally felt that a better choice could not have been made. It must have been also very gratifying to him

that the proposal which he made in the Congress address that one Indian Ruling Prince should also be associated with the Secretary of State, was adopted by the Government who chose the Maharaja of Bikanir for the purpose. These two Indian representatives were considered as members of the War Conference and War Cabinet, and all the world knows of—and India has reason to be specially grateful for—the splendid work done by them while in England. It was a remarkable tribute to Sir Satyendra's qualities that he should have been asked to go to England for a second time (1918) to serve as India's representative in the Imperial Conferences, and on both these occasions he worked without break, worked incessantly and worked hard on behalf of India. His official duties were responsible and taxing, but he found time to interest prominent English politicians in Indian affairs and kept himself in close touch with the friends of India. During his first visit he stayed with the late Sir William Wedderburn for two days. It is beyond doubt that Sir S. P. Sinha and the Indian Princes who were associated with him (the Maharaja of Patiala was his colleague in 1918) acted, in regard to Indian questions, quite as well as non-official representative Congressmen would have done and India has reason to feel proud of their work. Mr. Chamberlain and other statesmen have borne striking testimony to the value of their great work. The temptation to refer to the words of warm appreciation of distinguished people has, owing to considerations of space, to be resisted, but the following sentiments of Sir Robert Borden, Canadian Premier, are very pertinent :—

I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of

common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at the Conferences. I invited the members of the Conference to meet informally at the hotel at which I was staying, and we had a free, full and frank discussion of the whole situation in so far as the Dominions are concerned. India has had matters of difference, matters sometimes of controversy, with South Africa, perhaps also with Australia and New Zealand, and on some occasions with Canada. Sir Satyendra Sinha stated the case from the Indian standpoint with great ability and fairness, conspicuous moderation, and very deep feeling. His address to us was not the less impressive because it was so fair and so moderate. On our part, we spoke with equal freedom, equal frankness, and, I hope with equal moderation. The net result was the resolution at which we arrived, and which I have read. Its basis is the idea that the self-respect of India shall be maintained by an agreement whatever measures be enforced in regard to emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India.

In the banquet which was held in November, 1917, in honour of the Indian representatives, the Maharaja of Bikanir said: "It is only when the whole history comes to be told that we shall realise in any adequate measure how much India owes those two (Sir Satyenda and Sir James Meston) distinguished statesmen. (He could not obviously refer to his own services, but it is only right to say that his noble and patriotic advocacy of the cause of India has been equally admirable and praiseworthy). That the veteran Sir Satyendra Sinha with his calm judgment and wide outlook should have so whole-heartedly and unsparingly fought the battles of India with earnestness, tact and enthusiasm was only to be expected from a distinguished patriot of his reputation and his services entitle him to the gratitude of all fellow-countrymen."

## RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCES

Sir S. P. Sinha has himself summarised the results of the first Conference. The first was the resolution recommending to the Dominions overseas that a resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907 excluding India should be rescinded and that India should hereafter be represented at future Conferences. The second was the definite declaration made by Mr. Lloyd George that in future Conferences, the Secretary of State for India would sit as a member of the Cabinet and that India would be represented by its own member. To the criticism that this representation would be only by a representative of the Government of India, he replied with some force that it was so, but it was also the same case with the Dominions. "True each of these countries possesses responsible governments, whereas India does not do so at present, but would these critics prefer that India should not take place in the Conference until she came completely self-governing, and did they expect that after eight weeks' stay in England we would bring back in our pockets an ordinance making India a completely self-governing country at one bound? So far as I know no one in India has even now asked for such a catastrophic change." The third result of the Conference was the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, a decision which was obviously halting, but which Sir Satyendra defended with some warmth.

He, however, admitted that some of India's grievance had not been redressed but the second Conference has made some advance in this direction.

## INDIAN REFORMS

Sir Satyendra has always fought against undue caution, as he has consistently advocated deliberate ordered march towards the goal. He had no faith in the wait-till-you-are-fit argument or in the grandmotherly wail that as England took centuries to work out her political freedom, therefore India should not be impatient. He was all for profiting by experience and referred to Dr. Johnson's saying: 'Nothing will ever be attempted if all possible objections must be first overcome.' Extreme caution was sometimes as harmful as its opposite.

He had no patience with the class of critics who merely vilified Indians and misrepresented their aims and aspirations. Mere advance in local self-government would not do. Equally insufficient was the devolution of authority on Provincial Government unaccompanied by the conferring of real power on Provincial Legislatures. It was malicious, he once said, to say that Indians were after only official loaves and fishes. They would not be satisfied with this, but they wanted self-government, the right to govern themselves. In one of his addresses recently made in England he protested in vehement language against the aspersions cast on Indian loyalty and vile abuse of Indians indulged in by a certain class of English critics. This strong upbraiding created quite a sensation. He said:—

I take this opportunity of entering a respectful, but emphatic protest against the use of intemperate language and the substitution of invective and personal abuse for argument and reason on the part of responsible journalists in this country, in discussing the most grave political problem in the whole British Empire? I do not refer so much to the

personal abuse indulged in by certain newspapers with reference to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, though I think it is a pernicious example to set to our newspapers, both English and vernacular, in India. I take upon myself to utter a grave warning against descriptions of the masses of India as "a vast block of uncivilised peoples" and "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed."

[These it should be explained were passages in the 'Spectator' comments on the Report, which also contained the references to the Brahmans Sir S. P. Sinha later condemned.]

"Let not English people be lulled into a sense of false security by the comfortable belief that these masses will never know what is said in England. As sure as I am standing before you to-day these words will be translated into every vernacular in India and spread throughout the length and breadth of India with both legitimate and illegitimate comments.

Still more do I deprecate ill-natured attacks upon what is called the political section of the Brahmanical caste of India, whatever the limitation may denote. I hold no brief for the Brahmans, political or otherwise. I do not belong to that caste myself; and everybody in India knows of my open, avowed and active hostility to all pretensions of caste and class supremacy on the part of Brahmans or any others. But I will take upon myself to repudiate the malicious insinunations against a class of my countrymen which includes such illustrious names as Ranade, Gokhale, W. C. Banerjea, Surendra Nath Banerjea and others. And I venture to point out that the ill-mannered and ill-informed attacks on a whole class held in respect and even reverence by large masses of the people of India, will inevitably provoke reprisals which will seriously hamper all efforts for either political or social reform, and will in all probability create a ferment prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire in this crisis of its fortunes.

## THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD PROPOSALS

Soon after the historic document prepared by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the question of

Indian Constitutional Reforms was published he gave out his views in England which, for their accuracy, comprehensiveness and clear grasp, may take equal place with the famous interpretation given by Mr. Gokhale on the Minto-Morley reforms in the Madras Congress of 1908. Sir Satyendra said :—

While responsible Government is not granted immediately we have been given the pledge of substantial steps in that direction as soon as possible which I interpret to mean without avoidable delay. The only question is whether the steps recommended are sufficiently substantial or whether they go farther than they ought to be the case at present. People holding one view or the other have every right to put their views before the public, for such criticism alone can provide material for constructive effort. I unhesitatingly believe that the report lays the foundation of an Indian constitution which will contribute to the solidarity and unity of the Empire in like degree as the genius of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman achieved in the case of South Africa.

Provision is made for a thorough investigation with a view to further steps after the first ten years and for periodic enquiries thereafter. What we in India have to remember is that we can contribute enormously to such periodic advancement by the co-operation we give in treading this path. Though necessary changes in the frame-work of Government attract most attention, the matters discussed in the final chapter are one of surpassing interest and value.

As regards the differences in principle between the Congress-League scheme and the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, he further stated :—

I should like to emphasise a little more that the main principles underlying the Report are common to itself and the scheme of the Congress and Moslem League. The Congress League scheme was put forward at a time when it was not fully realised what precise step was immediately feasible in order to constitute a substantial advance towards responsible

government, and the idea of those two important and representative bodies was that the Indian half of the Executive Council being elected by the Legislative Council and the resolutions of the Council on all matters, including the Budget provisions, being made binding on the Government, subject to *veto* by the Governor for a limited period, would constitute the most convenient half way house on the road to complete responsible government. But they made no provision that these elected members of the Executive should be removable by or in any way responsible to the body which had elected them. Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy propose better and a real half-way house, because so far as the transferred departments are concerned the Legislature will exercise complete control over the Ministers in charge. To my mind the defect in the Congress-League scheme was that it purported to divide the Executive Government and not the subject matter dealt with by Government as a whole.

A warm and enthusiastic advocate of the scheme which he said would give legitimate and sufficient scope to Indians for their political education, he counselled his fellow-countrymen to accept it and urged on them patience and moderation. In his opinion, it would be difficult to present a more cautious and at the same time a more liberal scheme. "Speaking as an Indian," he said, "I believe that if the scheme is carried out and some of the cautious checks eliminated it will give general satisfaction to India as nothing else has done." To Mr. Montagu he paid a striking tribute, assuring him of the unfaltering trust of Indians and of their approbation of and gratitude for his courage, devotion and statesmanship which, he ventured to predict, will place his name in the list of "those immortal British statesmen who in serving their own country have also served the cause of justice and humanity in the world."

In November, 1918, Sir S. P. Sinha was chosen for the third time as Representative for India, on the Imperial Conference and the Peace Conference, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir being again selected to represent Indian Chiefs and Princes. This was a unique tribute to the ability, acumen and statesmanship of these true sons of India, and the great confidence that they inspired was remarkably demonstrated by the fact that they were the only representatives for India at Verseilles when Mr. Montagu was called away to London on business.

But Sir Satyendra was soon to be called to occupy an office and raised to a position which sent a thrill of joy and enthusiasm throughout the Indian Empire. In the general election held at the close of the year, the Coalition Party returned to power and Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, retained his seat. The reshuffling of the Government took place in January and the only and the greatest surprise was the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India, an announcement which was soon followed by another proclaiming the raising of Sir Satyendra to the Peerage. No event in the history of the relations between England and India has had such a marvellous effect in capturing the imagination of the people. It was, as the Maharajah of Bikanir said in the course of a speech full of patriotic fervour, on the occasion of a remarkable dinner at the Savoy Hotel in honour of Lord Sinha of Raipur early in March last, inspired by true statesmanship and was a sure stroke of imagination, and, according to His Highness (1) it showed that the Government were determined to carry through without unnecessary delay a substantial

measure of constitutional reforms; (2) it was, moreover, a re-assertion of the solemn pledge that race or creed is no disqualification for admission to offices under the British Crown; (3) it was a conspicuous illustration of the welcome change in the angle of vision regarding Indian affairs and of the better understanding and increased mutual confidence and respect between Englishmen and Indians. Lord Sinha, in replying to the toast expressed himself in a similar strain, attributing his elevation as a fulfilment of the pledge of equality of race and color and as an example of Great Britain's adherence to the great principle of freedom and equality. He referred to the regret which he felt that Mr. Gokhale and Sir William Wedderburn were not living to see the striking manifestation of the new spirit which animated Great Britain to-day in her relations with India and told the audience that there was one who would and could have done the greatest service to India if the position were his and that was the late lamented Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Montagu stated on the same occasion that it was a proud moment to him when he learned that the recommendation of Lord Sinha as his comrade had been approved by His Majesty.

India has great reason to be proud of Lord Sinha, (who associated the village in which he was born with his title) and is looking forward with confidence to his success in the House of Lords. His maiden speech was a meritorious performance and Lord Crewe said of it as follows: "I think that your Lordships here, from observing the easy mastery with which he replied to the question of the noble Lord on the Cross-benches (Lord Sydenham) and in the manner in which he deve-

loped the various points which arose of that question, will agree that we can look forward with the utmost confidence to the conduct of the very important measures of which he will no doubt have charge in the future in your Lordship's House." That Lord Sinha, besides stoutly championing Indian rights, will present fresh aspects of questions before the House may be certain. For instance, he rebuked Lord Sydenham for giving a political colour to the Katarpur riots and gave an interpretation to the disturbances and suggested a remedy which should have made Lord Sydenham blush. He said .—

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilizing and humanising religions known to world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so, not for any supposed spiritual benefits but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the officials with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the officials of the Government the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

# Lord Sinha's Speeches and Writings

## THE TREATMENT OF INDIAN PRINCES

*Mr. S. P. Sinha, in proposing the Resolution on Indian Princes at the Twelfth Congress at Calcutta, in December* 1896, *spoke as follows :—*

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution which I have the honor to move runs thus :—

*That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.*

Sir, it might seem at first sight that the subject of this Resolution is somewhat beyond the scope, the sphere, the limits which this Congress has hitherto set to itself. But I venture to think that upon closer inspection it will be found that this view rests upon a misconception. Now, the relations between the Protected States of India and the Paramount British Power are so complex and

so delicate, that it is impossible to define or accurately to explain them. But whatever these relations may be, whether that of complete independence or complete subjection; whether it is what Mr. Lee Warner in his recent book calls "one of junior partnership or subordinate union," it is perfectly clear that we, the British Indian subjects of Her Majesty, have a most vital and substantial interest in the preservation of good relations between these Native States and the Paramount Power. If, gentlemen, the relation is one of complete subjection, then, forsooth, these Native States are an integral part of British India, and the rulers and subjects of those States are, just as much as ourselves, subjects of Her Majesty. If, on the other hand, the relationship is one of friendship and subordinate union, then I say who are more interested than ourselves in the preservation of good relationship and good feeling, and above all for the preservation of that peace which is vital for the welfare and prosperity of our country? Now, gentlemen, I hope that is sufficient to dispel any doubt that may have arisen in the minds of some of us that we are travelling beyond our legitimate sphere. To proceed to the subject itself,—What is it that we ask for? We do not bring any charge of injustice against the Government of India with regard to any particular instance. Upon this point, gentlemen, I beg not to be misunderstood. That is the position upon which we take our stand. I am here, gentlemen, and we are all here to ask, not that

any particular decision already arrived at with reference to any case or any particular Prince or Chief, should be reversed. All that we ask is, that, in future, steps be taken to guarantee that no Prince or Chief should be deposed by the Paramount Power for alleged miscarriage of justice or tyranny without a full and complete public enquiry. (*Cheers*). The Resolution, gentlemen, you will perceive, is based upon the assumption that the Government of India has a right, an undoubted right, to depose any of the Protected Princes or Chiefs for mal-administration or misconduct. Now, to those of you who are familiar with the treaties which exist between these States and the British Government, it may seem that I am putting the case too high when I say that it is the undoubted right of the British Government to depose any of these Princes. But, gentlemen, this is an unwritten law, a creation of usage and custom which has grown up as an accretion to, nay, in spite of, the treaties which exist between these States and the British Government. True it is that, speaking generally, they are left to deal with their own internal affairs in any way that seems best to them, but whatever views these rulers may hold with regard to the binding character or otherwise of this customary law, we assume in this Congress that they certainly know clearly that it is not for us to question its soundness or its propriety. Every rule or law or practice which has for its object the amelioration of the condition and the redress of the

grievances of the masses of the people, whether within British India or without British India, in the Native States, has our warm sympathy and our hearty approval. (*Cheers*). Therefore, gentlemen, it is that I say we assume, as it is our duty to assume, that the Government of India has a right to depose any Prince or Chief who is guilty of gross misrule or gross misconduct. All that we ask is that, before the Paramount Power so seriously interferes in the internal affairs of any of these States as to depose its ruler, either permanently or for a limited period, there must be a case made out of grave misrule, or misconduct, by clear, direct, and tangible evidence of such misrule or misconduct. How is that misconduct to be brought home to the Prince? Before the Prince or Chief against whom so grave a charge is brought is deposed, should he not be entitled to demand, in common with ordinary citizens, the right to a fair, full and free enquiry? (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, not even the meanest of the ordinary subjects of Her Majesty is liable to lose a fraction of his liberty without a full enquiry and a fair trial in the ordinary municipal tribunals, conducted openly and publicly, according to well-known rules of law, and according to well-established rules of procedure. Now, there are elaborate rules, so far as ordinary citizens are concerned, for appeal and revision from court to court, so that the errors and irregularities of one tribunal are liable to be corrected by another and a higher tribunal. Why should the Prince not have a similar chance

to that the meanest subject has? There is no law defining his duties; there is no procedure by which he may be tried for dereliction of those duties which he does not know; there is no tribunal which has the right to try him for these derelictions. His position, therefore, gentlemen, is a thousand times worse than that of the meanest citizens in this empire. According to well-known principles of law, Princes have no right to go before a municipal tribunal with regard to any act of injustice that they may allege against the Paramount Power. What safeguard, then, has the Prince against an oppressive Resident? Surely, this is a state of things which calls for redress. Gentlemen, there is an impression abroad—an impression due to recent events—that the policy of non-intervention which has hitherto characterised our rulers in their relations with Native States is fast disappearing; that there is a growing desire to exact rigid submission to any and every order of the Political Agent with regard to any and every detail of internal administration, and it appears to many people that the Viceroy is often content to ratify the decisions arrived at by subordinate officers (*a voice*: 'too often'). I do not know what effect this may have upon the minds of our Princes and Chiefs, but it is calculated to create mistrust and suspicion, unrest and disquiet. But whether that is so or not, I know that the British Indian subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty view with alarm a policy which may imperil the peace of this great

Empire. It is because we are, above all, deeply and devoutly interested in the preservation of the *Pax Britannia* which has been the greatest blessing the British Government has conferred upon us; it is because we are of all persons the most interested, that we ask to-day that the Government should not interfere, and interfere so seriously, without an ordinary trial. Gentlemen, the deposition of the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar will be fresh in the recollection of you all. It is not necessary that I should repeat again that I am not bringing any charge with regard to the Jhallawar, or any other case. The Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar may have been deposed upon grounds which are ample, full, and sufficient. It is not for us to discuss that matter, nor is this the time to go into it. What I wish to point out is that it was in connection with the Jhallawar case that the Secretary of State for India, in reply to Dr. Clark, said that he considered the House of Commons was not the platform upon which such matters should be discussed, and that the House of Commons should not be asked to consider the Government of India's decision upon such questions. So what does it come to? It comes to this that a Prince or Chief of a Native State has not only to be content with the decision of the Government of India which is his accuser, but he has not that right of appeal to the House of Commons which is the supreme arbiter of the destinies of the British Indian subjects of Her Majesty. He does not get a trial here; he does not get one in

England, and yet we are told that there are ample safeguards against the miscarriage of justice, inasmuch as the public are always taken into the confidence of the Government. This is what Mr. Lee Warner calls " the only safeguard against possible injustice and oppression towards Native Princes." Well, I should like to ask, when is the public taken into this confidence? Is it before the step is taken? Do any of you here know now, nearly a year after the deposition of the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar, for what precise acts he was deposed and are you not part of the general public? Beyond the bare suggestion and vague rumours of acts of mal-administration, do you know what are the acts for which it was considered fit that the Maharaja should be deposed? You do not. Therefore, it is clear, gentlemen, that we are not taken into the confidence of the Government before the step is taken. Are we taken into their confidence after the step has been taken? Even if we were, gentlemen, it would not be of much avail. For if public opinion declared itself against the decision of the Government, it would be met with a doctrine with which we lawyers are perfectly familiar; the doctrine of *factum valet*; because the first thing we should be asked would be, "What is the use now? We cannot afford to go back upon what we have already done." So that even if we were taken into their confidence afterwards, it would not be of the slightest use. But are we? I say distinctly, no. The correspondent in the Blue Book which was placed before

the House of Commons does not allege any specific act of mal-administration. We hear of instances when the Maharaja Rana was foolish enough to ask the Resident to sit on his left hand instead of on his right; we also hear of instances in which the Maharaja Rana did not dispose of the sweetmeats which had accumulated in the palace two days after they had been made. But when we ask—what the precise acts of tyranny, for which he has been deposed are, the Government does not mention any specific acts, but speaks of his general mal-administration. That, gentlemen, is the position. We say we have not been taken into the confidence of the Government, and it is not merely we, it is the British public also. They have a right to know that they have not been taken into the confidence of Government either. Now, all that we ask, gentlemen, is this: that before so serious a step, as deposing a Native Prince or Chief is taken, that Prince or Chief should have a trial before a public tribunal which shall command alike the confidence of the Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. Gentlemen, there is a precedent for it. You probably remember that, in 1875, the Gaekwar of Baroda was charged with attempting to poison Colonel Phayre, the then Resident in the State. Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy at that time, appointed a Commission, consisting of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, Sir Dinkar Rao, the Maharaja of Jeypore, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Richard Mead and Mr. Philip Melville. So that what

we ask for is a thing which the Government of India once thought fit to grant to one of these Princes. All we ask for now is, that in order to ensure the firm and deep seated loyalty and devotion which has been hitherto, and is now, characteristic of the Princes of India, as it is of the people, the Government should give us an assurance that before taking so serious a step they would give the Prince or Chief charged, a fair hearing and impartial trial. Let them satisfy themselves that before the Prince or Chief is deposed a case has been made out against him. The whole fallacy of the argument the Government of India used in the Jhallawar Case that they were not willing to delegate their functions to any tribunal; the whole fallacy of that rests upon the assumption that they have a right to depose a Native Chief in case of mis-government. Gentlemen, you cannot help seeing that is neither a right nor a privilege : it is a duty cast upon the Government in order to secure good government to take this step. Where then is the difficulty in the Government saying, "Before we are called upon to discharge this duty, you must satisfy us that there is a case calling for this duty to be discharged." (*Loud Cheers.*)

## THE PRESS ACT, (1910)

*The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha made the following speech in connection with the passing of the Press Bill in the Viceregal Council on February* 8, 1910:

My Lord, as a Member of your Lordship's government, who has had a great deal to do with the preparation of the measure now under discussion, I feel it my duty to make a few observations on the Bill, for certain misconceptions which apparently still exist with regard to its scope and purpose should, if possible, be dispelled, though I had hoped that after the lucid speech from my Hon'ble friend, the Home Member, it would hardly be necessary for me to have to transgress upon the attention of the Council to-day.

My Lord, I ask Your Lordship's leave to begin by expressing the regret that I share with most Hon'ble Members of the Council, and speaking personally for myself, the humiliation that I feel that we should to-day have to take part in the passing of a measure—which undoubtedly, I do not for a moment seek to conceal it—which undoubtedly places greater obstacles than have hitherto existed upon the freedom of the Press. But, my

Lord, while I feel the pain and the humiliation, I also feel consolation in being able to take part in a measure which, I believe, will have great influence for good on the future of my country. It is because I believe this to be a wise, fair and just measure that I have agreed to take part in the introduction of this measure.

My Lord, I call upon my countrymen—whose confidence I claim to have earned—I call upon them to give their cordial support to this measure and to do the utmost that lies in their power to make it a success and to show that the Government is not called upon to enforce the Act either by their executive or judicial powers; for the matter rests entirely in their hands. My Lord, I will not deal—I am not able to ascend to the sublime heights to which some of my learned friends in the Council have invited us to-day—with the disquisitions about the freedom of the Press, about the inestimable boon of a free Press, and matters of that description. However appropriate they may be on general grounds, I confess I am not fully convinced of their relevancy with regard to a Bill of the particular nature that we are considering. The question, and the only question, to my mind, is this. Is there a necessity for the measure that we are considering to-day? And if there is, are the means which we are proposing adapted to the end which we have in view? Now, if I have understood my friends who have spoken before me aright, it seems to be universally conceded that the liberty of the Press, the

freedom of the Press for which we all have a great affection, has been, in many cases, most grossly abused. Is that, or is that not so? I have not heard any of my friends, I have not heard my learned friend, Mr. Gokhale, for whom I have the greatest regard, I have not heard my friend, Babu Bhupendranath Basu, with whom I have worked for many years, I have not heard either of them deny that the liberty of the Press has been grossly abused. If that is so, are we not to try and find a remedy? I can understand the argument, 'why not have recourse to the existing law? Are not the provisions of the Penal Code, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspapers (Incitements to offences) Act, which were passed only the other day, are not these stringent enough, are not these sufficient?' Well, if I cannot satisfy the Council that they are neither stringent nor sufficient, I will accept their verdict and say that the Bill which we have introduced is unnecessary and probably inexpedient. But let us see if, as a matter of fact, the provisions of the existing law are sufficient. Now my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Gokhale, has urged with characteristic force, that we have, in the provisions of section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, a weapon and an instrument ready to our hands which we have neglected to work, which we might have worked to greater advantage, and, if we had, there was no necessity whatever for a measure to the kind before us. Now my Hon'ble friend is not a lawyer himself. Fortunately, or unfortunately, I

have been for many years a lawyer, I have had practical experience of the working of section 108, and I have had a good deal of practical experience of the working of the sections dealing with sedition in the Penal Code; and I feel perfectly certain when I explain in the Council the difficulties of prosecution under this sedition section and of prosecutions under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, they must inevitably come to the conclusion that those provisions are neither sufficient nor stringent enough. Now let us deal first with section 108 which is of the same nature, the remedy is of the same nature, as the one we are now trying to provide, namely, preventive. Sir Harold Stuart, I think, pointed out its inefficiency and I desire only to add that in my experience I found it to work in that way. Thus when you call upon a man to furnish security under section 108 because he has been publishing seditious matter or because he has been publishing matter which excites race hatred, or because he has been publishing matter for the purpose of intimidating Judges, supposing you succeed in proving that that is the man who has published or printed the matter in question—it is not always easy to do so—but supposing you succeed in proving that the man you hauled before the Magistrate under section 108 is the man who has printed or published or disseminated seditious matter; what is done? All that he is required to do is to enter into a bond or to give security, in other words, that he will not do it again.

Well, when I have got that, how far have I got towards my end? Assume I prove it. I can prove it if he is a publisher, because he has to make a declaration under the Act of 1867 that he is a publisher. But he goes home and makes a declaration that he is no longer a publisher of that paper, so that the law cannot touch him. No, more, he puts up a friend of his, a man of straw, a dummy editor, to write, or rather to copy out what he has written himself. How do I benefit by the bond which I have taken? How do I prove that the man who engaged solemnly before the Courts of Justice to be of good behaviour in the future has transgressed? Humanly speaking, it is impossible to prove it. It is difficult enough to prove that the man is actually responsible for the dissemination of the poison. But when you have proved it and when you have got an order punishing him, when you have got it, you are no further than you had been before you ever came into Court. Well, that is the section that we are referred to saying, Why don't you work that? It has been worked, it has been in practice found to be unsuccessful, and with the explanations which I have given is any one surprised that it should be unsuccessful?

Well, then, I will deal now with the section with regard to sedition, the section which we are unfortunately so familiar with for the last few years, section 124-A. My Hon'ble friend refers with great force to the observations of Sir Herbert Risley and says that we confessed ourselves that,

during the last two years, we have had 40 prosecutions, and that in these prosecutions we have had cent. per cent. of convictions. What more do we want? We have succeeded in every case. The law is potent enough to deal with such cases. Well, it would look like that to people who are not behind the scenes. If my hon'ble friends think that because there were 40 prosecutions that there were only 40 seditious articles, I can tell them that they are greatly mistaken.

My Lord, I have been the confidential adviser of the Government of Bengal and the Government of India for many years past, or had been rather—I beg my friend Mr. Kenrick's pardon. During that time I know what the procedure was that we had to go through before we initiated prosecution for sedition. It would go from the lowest officer who dealt with it to the highest, each officer recording his note and each had to say whether he thought the case good enough to prosecute it. When all that had been done, it would be referred to the Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bengal whether he thought that a conviction would be obtained. And if the Legal Remembrancer thought that it would, it would then go to the Standing Counsel or the Advocate-General, or the two together, to say whether they thought it was a proper case for conviction. Well it does not seem to be a very expeditious process, does it? As a law officer of the Crown, one would never advise a prosecution of the Press unless one was absolutely certain of being

able to obtain a conviction. There is the secret of why there have been cent. per cent. convictions, because out of ten cases we have had before us we would not allow prosecutions to be initiated in nine out of ten. And there is very good reason, I think, for it is not that the law officers do not do their duty: there is every reason why law officers should be particularly careful in matters of this description. One abortive trial for sedition creates more mischief than 10 successful prosecutions. I appeal to all lawyers who are present here, in fact to all men of common sense, as to whether that is not so. If you fail in one case of prosecution for sedition, the immediate effect is that you create an impression that the Government is tyrannical and oppressive and trying to suppress expressions of free opinion and legitimate criticism, and the man who, after all, may be a criminal, who has just escaped with the skin of his teeth, is raised into a martyr and a hero. Well that is the effect of these prosecutions for sedition. I hope I have shown satisfactorily that it is not always possible to say that because there are convictions cent. per cent. that therefore all the cases of sedition have been dealt with and that the law can easily reach all the persons who are actually guilty. It is also to be remembered that in a Criminal Court the accused must be given the benefit of the doubt: if there is the slightest element of doubt you cannot send the editor, or the proprietor, or the publisher, or the printer to jail. That is one of the elementary principles of English

jurisprudence. But does anybody want that doubtful matter—I do not say absolutely seditious matter —but does the Council want, do my Hon'ble friends want that even doubtful matter should be disseminated among the young men of the country? I venture to say on behalf of parents that they do not. that if they were to answer they would say at once, 'We object to doubtful matter being placed before our sons and daughters in order that their minds may not be poisoned by literature of this description.'

I hope I have said sufficient to convince the Council that the existing law, either under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code or under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, is not strict enough for the purpose of meeting the evil complained of—license of writing—which requires to be checked. If it is admitted that the existing law is not sufficient for the purpose, it follows that something besides the existing law is necessary, and according to the best of our lights this is the measure which we put forward as an adequate means towards that end.

My Lord, it has been described as drastic, as interfering with legitimate criticism, as interfering with the liberty of the Press. Let us for one moment examine the provisions of this Act and see if there is any foundation whatever for this criticism. Now, we provide that, so far as existing newspapers and existing presses are concerned, we should not require anything under this Act

so long as they remain within the law: nothing in this Act should touch them. Does that sound very drastic? Does that sound as if the Government is intending to choke knowledge or to block the progress of education? Is it to be seriously suggested that papers of the description which we have in view in enacting this measure are papers which are potent instruments for the dissemination of knowledge? I disclaim on behalf of this Council any such idea. Well, you have this, that the existing papers and the existing presses are not to be required to give any security at all, but we ask that persons starting a press for the first time, or persons starting a newspaper after this Act is passed, should give security. It is said that this casts a slur. Where is the slur? Indeed, on the other hand, what my friends suggest, that it should be after an enquiry that the security should be required, would cause a slur, and it would cause a slur which would be irremoveable by any process known to the law. My Hon'ble friends, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Gokhale, suggested—I am not sure that I am in order in dealing with these details of the Bill—that if you require security you cause a slur upon the man. And how do they get rid of that? Why, by telling the Magistrate that security is to be required only when the Magistrate thinks that he is a man likely to preach sedition. Which view or which provision would cause a slur—our provision which says that every man who comes will have to give a security for

good behaviour without any imputation whatever on his character because we have nothing against him; will our provision cast a slur or will the provision of our Hon'ble friend that the Magistrate is to make an enquiry to find out whether he is seditious or not, and if he thinks that he is seditious, to require security? And, mind you, there is no appeal against it; it is final, absolutely conclusive, if the Magistrate says 'give security; you are a seditious person, you ought not to be allowed to print anything; put down two hundred or five hundred rupees, as the case may be.' I say that that is not an improvement on the Bill and my Hon'ble friends are not quite familiar with the provisions of the Bill. I admit that the time they have had to peruse the Bill and to digest its contents has not been very great, but this is a sample of the criticism which I am sorry to say has been extended to this Bill.

Now I do not desire to be long, but I only want to say a few words with regard to my second point, namely, if there is a necessity, is the Bill which we have put before the Council adapted to meet the end which we have in view, and further is it so very drastic as it is sought to make out? Well, most Members have said, and I repeat it, that we do not expect that the man who is already armed with a Browning pistol, or a dagger, or with a bomb will be affected by the provisions of this Act. If he is out in the street watching for a man to be killed, he is not likely to stop to read the Act

and to be checked or deterred by any provisions of the Act. But what we seek to do is to cut off the fuel from the fire, the supply of the material which is used for the purpose of the anarchist propaganda. Will it or will it not have this effect? Will it not prevent these from reaching the ears of the young-men whom they get hold of? I venture to think that, at any rate, it is worth trying. Let us try and see if this does not cut off the source of supply without which the propaganda must fail some time or other. Well I say, therefore, that it is one of the means—we do not say that it is the only means or that it alone will serve that end, but it seems to us a means—one perhaps of the many means which are necessary to effect the object which we have in view. That being so, there being the necessity and this being a means of carrying out the object which we have in view, the only other question that I think this Council ought to consider is, is the Bill too drastic, or in other words does it go beyond the necessities of the case? If it does, we do not want it; we want that and that only which is strictly and absolutely necessary for the purpose we have in view. Well I confess that after great thought and great consideration and the most anxious care that I could bestow upon it, it seemed to me that the Bill as framed and as put before the Council does not err on the side of being too drastic. Let me for one moment—I think it is not very necessary because Sir Herbert Risley explained it clearly and better than I can—but let me remind you of the nature of the provisions of

this Act. We do not touch existing newspapers. We ask the new papers or the new presses which are to be started after the new Act is passed to give security; for what? Rs. 500 is the minimum. The Bill, as originally introduced, asked for Rs. 5,000 as the maximum. We have reduced it in the Select Committee to Rs. 2,000. The Magistrate, therefore, in regard to new presses and newspapers, has the power to require security to be given, not for an unlimited amount, but anything between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000; but unless we are to assume that the Magistrate is by nature and design a malevolent creature, we may take it for certain that in ordinary cases he will not ask for more than Rs. 500, the minimum. It is only in extreme cases, and if he has reason to think that it might be misused, that he would ask for anything more than the minimum. Well Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 does not seem to be an extraordinary sum to require from the person who will have a printing press, a potent instrument for evil as well as for good, it does nor seem to me that it is an extraordinarily large sum to ask the keeper of a printing-press to deposit. With regard to the publisher also, a man who is to have the power of disseminating broadcast literature which might have great influence for evil as well as for good, we do not think it is a large sum to require the publisher to put down. We want responsible persons to have the conduct of these newspapers and the publication of books which would have such influence

upon the youth of the country. I do not think that any right-thinking man will say that, in asking for that security, we have fixed it so high as to make it impossible for well-intentioned persons with small capital to embark on an enterprise of this kind; that we have made it impossible for them to carry on legitimate business. Well, when the security is given, the money is in Court; it may be that if it had remained with the man he would have been able to get more out of it than the 3½ per cent. which will be realised upon it as invested in Government securities, and all the time the money is in Court interest is accruing on the money as on Government securities, because no money is kept in Court locked up in a box. The moment you put it in, it is invested in Government securities, and the man who puts in the money will be getting his 3½ per cent. interest on his money. He might have made more of course. We know that in India it is possible to get very much larger rates of interest, particularly in country districts; but still it is not such a very great deprivation to be compelled to take 3½ per cent. with regard to money which you are bound to provide as a security for good behaviour. And it is only because the cirumstances are exceptional and because privileges have been abused, that we are obliged to have recourse to a measure of this kind. When the security has been put in, the keeper of the press or the publisher of the newspaper has nothing to fear *unless he publishes matter prohibited by the law.* When he has done that,

what is the punishment to which we subject him? The security between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000 which he has deposited is declared to be forfeited—by whose order? By the order of the highest executive authority in the Province, the Local Government. It is a great power which we no doubt confer upon the Local Government. It is to be exercised on the gravest responsibility; it is to be exercised under safeguards which I will presently mention, which will make the Local Government hesitate before it makes an order of forfeiture, because there is a tribunal who may sit over it and reverse its decision. That in itself is a great check. It will incline the Local Government to be careful and cautious before exercising this great right. There will be a great sense of responsibility created by the very fact that there is a tribunal which can deal with it afterwards. Well then, supposing the Local Government makes that order of forfeiture, what happens? Is this man prevented from going on with his paper? Has this man got to shut up his printing-press? No, he has only to come and say 'I now ask that I should give the further security that you have provided for, and that I should have another chance.' It is not that, on the first offence being committed, the Local Government takes his security and shuts up his business and shuts up his paper. That is not so; on the first offence the Local Government orders that the security, and the security only, shall be forfeited. *He can, the very day, or the very next day, give further*

*security and go on with his paper and the press, and at the same time appeal to the High Court.* If the High Court sets aside the order of the Local Government, what happens? He gets back the second security which he has put in, and the first security which was ordered to be forfeited comes back to the position in which it was and remains as the original security. So all that has happened is—on the first order of forfeiture being made, all that has happened is—that he is kept out of the double security for the period between the date of the first order and the date of its possible reversal in the High Court. Well, no doubt that is a curtailment of a right; no doubt that he loses something; but all I say is this. It is a sacrifice which every right-thinking citizen is bound to make, having regard to the exceptional circumstances for which this exceptional legislation is introduced. It is a sacrifice; but it is not a very heavy sacrifice, and it is a sacrifice which you ought cheerfully to make, having regard to the fact that there has been undoubtedly a good deal of sedition in the Press, and who will take upon himself to say that this kind of literature has not had its influence upon the youths whose outrages we all deplore and condemn? It is a sacrifice; it is a curtailment of a right, but it is not a very great one.

It is of no use to attempt to convince us that it is a very drastic measure, because we feel sure that it is not. We have put in all kinds of safeguards. I will mention another which my Hon'ble friends

seem to have forgotten in their hurried perusal of the Bill. *When the Local Government makes the order of forfeiture, the Bill provides that it must state or describe the offending words or articles, or pictures, or engravings, or whatever it is upon which it bases its order.* No making an order which is vague, which is indefinite, no order without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for, but a definite order stating the very words of the article, or describing it as that which the man is being punished for. Is not that a safeguard? Apart from the tribunal of appeal, is not a safeguard to provide that a man will not have his security forfeited without being told exactly what he has written that is taken exception to?

I will tell the Council of another safeguard which my learned friends seem to ignore. We provide this. It is our desire to let byegones be byegones; we do not want to get hold of anything that has been done in the past. We only want that, after the Act is passed, they should not transgress again; that is all that we require, and we provide that, when an order of forfeiture has been made and the man comes to the High Court, the Local Government will be entitled only to rely, in support of the order that they have made, upon anything that has been written after the passing of this Act and not before the passing of this Act. They will not be able to say, 'this man is a notorious sedition-monger; for the past three years he has been preaching hostility and

sedition'. They are not allowed to do that, all they can say is, all that the Local Government can say is that 'from and after the 7th of February, 1910 this man has been writing seditious articles,' and it is to these and these alone that we assign the sedition for which he is punished. Is not that a safeguard? Does that look a drastic provision? Is that any indication of a desire to choke the sources of knowledge? Gentlemen, all that this Bill intends to effect is that nobody should, by writings in the public Press, create bitterness and hostility and hatred towards the Government by law established, towards the Allies of the Government, and towards any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India. Does anyone want to do it? Does anyone think it is desirable that there should be any writing of that kind, creating bitterness, hostility and hatred either towards His Majesty, or towards his Government, or towards the Native Princes of India, or towards any class of His Majesty's subjects? Again I claim to speak on behalf of the educated middle class of my countrymen to whom I belong. I say the answer is emphatically no, we do not want any writing of that description. We do not want that such writings should continue and that they should continue to poison the minds of the youth of the country.

# LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION

*At the dinner at the Calcutta Club given in honour of H. E. Lord Minto, the Viceroy, the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha proposed the health of the Viceroy in the following words:—*

## A Personal Explanation

I am deeply sensible of the great honour which the Committee of the Calcutta Club has done me in asking me to propose the toast of the evening—the health of the Viceroy. I value it specially by reason of certain personal considerations, of which I wlll mention only two. In the first place, it gives me an opportunity of publicly expressing my heartful gratitude to Lord Minto for the unfailing courtesy and the gracious consideration which he has extended to me throughout my tenure of office, and in the second place it enables me publicly to contradict some statements which have appeared in the public Press regarding my resignation. It has been said that my resignation was due to pressure from below, whatever that may mean. This is diametrically opposed to the truth. The pressure has been all the other way. Everybody, Indian and European, pressed me to stay on in office, and it is to me a source of genuine regret that personal considerations

have prevented me from yielding to that pressure. Another statement is that I have resigned because I was not admitted into a supposed inner circle of the Viceroy's Council. Nothing can be further from the truth. There is no such inner circle, and I was not, and could not, be excluded from it, and I am happy and proud to remember that I have throughout enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Viceroy and every Member of his Council. I desire to take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the generous advice and assistance of every one of my colleagues, both past and present, in the Council, advice and assistance without which I would have found my duties extremely onerous to discharge. I hope, gentlemen, you will forgive me for having said so much about myself.

### Lord Minto's Administration

Gentlemen, the five years of Lord Minto's administration cover a most momentous period in the history of India. When he assumed his exalted office, there were heavy and black clouds over the Indian horizon. The public mind was perturbed to a greater extent than ever before, and Lord Minto came into enormous difficulties, which certainly were not of his creation. Very shortly after his assumption of office, Lord Minto, with unerring judgment, diagnosed the true political condition of India, and pointed out—I am quoting from a published Despatch—how "the growth of education, encouraged by British Rule, had led to the rise of

important classes claiming equality of citizenship and aspiring to take a larger part in shaping the policy of the Government." Liberal and generous measures were at once taken in hand with a view to the proper recognition of these claims, but before they assumed their final shape, there arose the hideous spectre of anarchy and murderous conspiracies. His Excellency's Government were compelled to take strong and drastic measures of repression. To-day, the better, the riper, mind of India recognises that these measures were to some extent at least necessary, and every one recognises that in any case they were taken in perfect good faith. But the Government of India did not rest content with measures of repression. In spite of bombs and pistols, of murders and dacoities, they went on steadily with their policy of reform, their scheme of substantial enlargement of the Legislative Councils on the principle as far as possible of an elective basis. The result was the Councils Act of 1909, followed in November, 1909, by the Rules and Regulations under that Act. Outsiders have little knowledge of the arduous labour involved in framing these Rules and Regulations. By his choice I presided over the later sittings of the Committee of the Council which was entrusted with the framing of these Rules and Regulations, and I am, therefore, in a position to say that, had it not been for the devoted labour of every member of that Committee, and the various Provincial officers who were summoned to Simla for its assistance, it is more than

doubtful if the different Councils could have been in existence even to-day.

This is neither the time nor the place to enter into a criticism or a defence of these Reforms. All fair-minded persons have recognised their beneficent and far-reaching character, but I cannot refrain from noticing two out of the many criticisms levelled at them. It has been said that they confer no real power on the representatives of the people. Criticism of this kind betrays to the mind an appalling ignorance of the history and development of representative institutions, and I would earnestly commend to the attentive perusal of my countrymen the highly instructive speech with which Sir Edward Baker opened his Council in January last.

Another and a more serious criticism is that the principle of separate or class representation has been introduced for the benefit of Mahomedans and landowners to the detriment or disadvantage of the educated class. I hope I shall be pardoned for saying that this also betrays a defect in political perspective. Education has never been in any country the sole, or even the principal, qualification for political franchise, and though we may regret that actual and existing conditions obliged the Government to accept the principle of class representation, we may confidently hope that the lines of demarcation, already growing faint, will disappear altogether in the fulness of time when we Indians shall have taken, to borrow the words of Lord Morley (that philosopher and statesman whose resignation

of the office of Secretary of State for India we deeply regret), "those weary steps, those countless, toilsome steps," which must be taken before we can form ourselves into a mass that has a political personality. It will require years and years of arduous, patient and persevering work before that happens. But in the meantime, let us each and all, Indians and Englishmen alike, by mutual and hearty co-operation, do our level best to contribute to that splendid, that magnificent end which I am more than ever convinced is the common aim of the Government and the people, *viz.*, the prosperity and happiness of the millions of this glorious country.

## EULOGY OF LORD MINTO

Gentlemen, I have tried to describe the condition of India at the commencement of Lord Minto's rule. I have, I fear, at unnecessary length, described the measures introduced during his rule. The result is thus described by the *Indian Nation,* a paper which I read with pleasure and instruction:—"A new era has dawned, a closer tie has been established between the people and their rulers, and a healthy tide of public activities has set in, washing away old bitterness and memories." 'A great deal of this happy result is due to the personality of Lord Minto who has, by his devotion to public duty, his fearless courage in the face of personal danger and generous sympathy with all classes, has earned the love and gratitude of the whole country. If I may respectfully say so, he has

acted in the spirit of the memorable words of Lord Mansfield :—"I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which sooner or later never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends, by noble means. I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong to gain the daily praise of all the papers which issue from the Press. I will not avoid doing that which I think right, though it should draw upon the artillery of libels, all that falsehood and malice can invent or credulity can swallow."

We, the members of this Club, have reason to be specially grateful to Lord Minto. Ever since its foundation, His Excellency has evinced his deep and abiding sympathy with the object of this Club, *viz.*, the establishment of more close and cordial relations between Indians and Englishmen. It must be a source of gratification to His Excellency to know that we have been successful in a very large measure.

### H. E. Lady Minto

One word more and I have done. I desire to couple with the toast another which I am certain will be equally cordially received, *viz.*, the health of the gracious lady who has throughout shared His Excellency's cares and anxieties and even his dangers, whose name will remain permanently associated with works of charity, good-will and benevolence for the benefit of all classes and com-

munities in India. Lady Minto's tactful sympathy and her gracious personality have won her the love and admiration of all His Majesty's subjects, who join with us to-day in wishing Lord and Lady Minto many more years of health, happiness and usefulness in their own beautiful country.

1747—3

## INDIA IN 1911

*The "Manchester Guardian" of Wednesday (November 25th, 1911) contained the following interview with Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, the Bengali Barrister who was formerly Advocate-General of Bengal and was selected by Lord Morley to be the first native of India to occupy a seat, that of Law Member, in the Viceroy's Executive Council:—*

Asked as to whether he thought the King's visit to India would have much effect on popular opinion there, Mr. Sinha replied: "It will be looked upon as indicating the King's genuine sympathy with his Indian subjects, but I would not expect the visit to have a great effect immediately, especially unless it is accompanied by some great act of grace or clemency."

"Do you then agree with those who say that its good effect will be counterbalanced by the ill-feeling caused by the spectacle of so much costly magnificence in so poverty-stricken a country?"

"No. We are not so foolish as to look at these things merely from the money point of view. For the matter of that, previous Durbars have, I believe, cost more. Its effect will certainly be good, but I do not expect, for example, that it will put an end to what is called the unrest in India, which

is due to widespread causes and is in its nature more or less economic."

Mr. Sinha said with regard to the repressive measures taken against popular agitation that he did not feel himself at liberty to say anything, as he had been officially connected with some of them, but questioned with regard to the imprisonment of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, he said he was sure most people had forgotten the article on "The Etiology of the Bomb." "Personally," he continued, "I do not remember what it was about, but there may be some good reason for the action taken which does not appear on the surface. From this distance I cannot even guess what it may be. Mr. Pal's influence was, I believe, on the decline when his arrest took place."

The attention of Mr. Sinha being called to the word *Swaraj*, the title of Mr. Pal's paper, and to the fact that the Crown Prosecutor, in the Ashe murder case before the Madras High Court, had tried to interpret it as meaning, "Independence to be attained by the murder of Europeans," he said he certainly never understood it in that sense. "*Swaraj* means self-government, and though there might be people who think that self-government cannot be attained without murder of Europeans, I cannot understand how the word itself can be made to bear that meaning."

"In regard to the partition of Bengal, do you consider there is any sign of the agitation for its repeal dying down?"

"The great soreness produced in Bengal by that measure is not likely to subside in our time."

"I suppose you think the partition was a mistake?"

"Most certainly, particularly in the manner in which it was carried out."

"How do you suggest it should have been carried out?"

"I have nothing new to say on the point. Various ways have been pointed out. I think it would have caused much less heart burning if all the Bengali-speaking people were left together."

Mr. Sinha's attention being called to the cases of torture of prisoners by the police in order to extort confessions, he said. "There you touch the weakest spot in the administration of justice, but you know that measures are in contemplation to remedy this state of things. I think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the authorities both here and in India are practically agreed that legislative steps should be taken to prevent or at least to minimise the abuse in question."

"I would like to hear you say something about Swadeshi from the point of view of Tariff Reformers of this country."

"There is a general idea among the educated classes in India that without some sort of tariff our industries cannot compete with foreign countries; but then what they want is protection against England herself, and they feel they are not likely to get it soon."

"And obviously no kind of Imperial zollverein would meet a case?"

"Clearly not. After all, we buy principally from England. Mind you, I am not passing an opinion. I have not studied the question sufficiently."

"I suppose the feeling you mention is one very potent cause of unrest?"

"Undoubtedly."

"And how would you suggest we should set about to allay it?"

"By doing all you can to help us to get rich: first, by improving our agriculture; and, secondly, by helping our industries. The former must be for a long time yet our chief source of wealth."

"And why has agriculture declined?"

"I don't know that it has, but it has not improved. We want scientific agriculture."

"How do you account for the great poverty of the Indian people? What about the drain?"

"I do not think that the theory of 'drain' by itself accounts for our poverty. But a purely agricultural people must necessarily be poor, especially where there is hardly any technical or scientific knowledge, and capital is not available except at a ruinous rate of interest. I expect great result from the extension of Co-operative Credit as well as primary and technical education."

"And do you think these things alone will abolish the extreme poverty of the peasantry?"

"I don't say so. It is too large a question to be disposed of so summarily. I am inclined to think

that we must manufacture before we can get rich, and for that purpose the Customs and the duties must be so arranged as to favour home manufactures."

Referring to the Indian tours of various Members of Parliament, including Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and the approaching visit of Mr R. C. Lambert and Mr. Ian Macpherson, Mr. Sinha said that in his opinion these visits were entirely for the benefit of both England and India. "Those who find fault with such visits fail to realise that the more attention is drawn to Indian affairs in England the more careful our officials are likely to be. No one is any the worse for a little criticism, even though the criticism is sometimes unjust."

"Upon the whole it would be correct to say you are in favour of self-government?"

"That is somewhat vaguely put. I am decidedly in favour of my people being allowed an increasing share in the government of their own country—*i.e.*, in co-operation and collaboration with the British Government. But I cannot conceive the idea of India governing herself, without the British being there as the paramount power—that is to say within any time that I can foresee."

"But is not the Government rather reluctant to foster the capacity for self-government? Would it not be digging its own grave?"

"I do not believe that. There are people who say things are moving too fast; there are others

who complain that they are not moving fast enough. But the movement is there—slowly but surely and steadily tending towards self-government, and its attainment will be England's crown of glory."

# SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

*In the course of his Presidential Address to the Bombay Congress of 1915 Sir S. P. Sinha spoke as follows on Self-Government for India :—*

What, to begin with, should be the political ideal of India? To some, the raising of this question may seem to be unnecessary and at best academic and, to others, positively mischievous. To me, however, it seems that the greatest danger in the path of the future well-being of the country is the want of a reasoned ideal of our future such as would satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the rising generations of India and at the same time meet with the approval of those to whose hands our destinies are committed. It is my belief that a rational and inspiring ideal will arrest the insidious and corrupting influence of the real enemies of our Motherland, even if it is not able to root out from the land that malignant mental disease which has been called anarchism and whose psychology it is so difficult to analyse. It must be obvious to all sincere and impartial judges that no mandate, whether of the Government or of the Congress, will be able to still the throbbing pain in the soul of awakening India, unless the ideal which is held up by the Congress and accepted by the Government commends itself first to the heart and then to the head. It seems

to me, brother-delegates, that the only satisfactory form of self-government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*." (*Applause*).

When I say this, I do not for one moment imply that the British Government is not the best Government we have had for ages. We have only to look round to see the manifold blessings which have been brought to this country by that Government. But as a British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government." (*Applause*).

Says a recent writer in a well-known British periodical:—

Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all his rights, the right of making his own laws. . . . He would not be an Englishman, he would not be able to look English fields and trees in the face, if he had parted with that right. Laws in themselves have never counted for much. There have been beneficent despots and wise law-givers in all ages who have increased the prosperity and probably the contentment and happiness of their subjects, but yet their government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in citizenship or fortified its character or enlarged its understanding. There is more hope for the future of mankind in the least and faintest impulse towards self-help, self-realisation, self-redemption than in any of the laws that Aristotle ever dreamt of.

The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment, but on all the lessons of history.

I believe in all sincerity that such has been the ideal which the British Government itself has -tertained and cherished almost from the commencement of British rule in India. Generations of statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction. I will not burden my speech with quotations from these: they will all be found in previous Presidential addresses. But, with your leave, I will quote only one passage from a speech of John Bright delivered at Manchester on the 11th of December, 1877 :—

> I believe it, said John Bright, that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sakes and to satisfy our own conscience, but so to arrange its government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion (*applause*). I say he is no statesman—he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to our great and terrible moral responsibility—who is not willing thus to look ahead and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think and sooner than any of us hope for, but which must come at some not very distant date.

It is, however, unfortunately the fact that a few years ago unhappy statements and even actions of responsible statesmen gave rise to a widespread suspicion among large classes of people in all parts of India that there was a change of policy—a deliberate intention to retrace the steps. That this suspicion is not wholly without foundation will appear from the estimate of an eminent French pub-

licist who cannot be charged with either lack of admiration for the British administration of India or an excess of sympathy for the Indian reform party. This is what M. Chailley says (I am reading from page 188 of the translation by the present Finance Member, Sir William Meyer):—

> Had England taken as her motto 'India for the Indians,' had she continued following the ideas of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give entire autonomy to the Indians, *but that is not now her aim.* (The italics are mine).

Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morely, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that many of those young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy, and driven to despair, conclude that "the roar and scream of confusion and carnage" is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom? Fifteen years ago, Lord Morely said:—

> The sacred word 'free' represents, as Englishmen have thought until to-day, the noblest aspiration that can animate the breast of man.

And to-day, millions of Englishmen are freely sacrificing their lives in order that others may be free: therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India, and I, for myself, say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character. (*Applause.*) For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation. When His Majesty sent us his gracious message of sympathy and later on of hope, what do you think he meant but sympathy for our political aspirations and hope for their ultimate fulfilment? As late as the 8th day of October, this year, His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing a large number of representative officials at the United Service Club of Simla, said:—

England has instilled into this country the culture and civilisation of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations, of which she herself has sown the seed, and English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future in guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian

development along sure and safe paths. The new role of guide, philosopher and friend is opening before you and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy, and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the power you have hitherto wielded. Let it be realised that great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future, in encouraging and guiding the political self-development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant and there may be many vicissitudes in her path, but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet, but it is to this distant vista that the British official should turn his eyes, and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged.

The noble words of Lord Hardinge, which must still be ringing in our ears, are not the idle speculations of an irresponsible enthusiast, but the well-considered pronouncement of a statesman who, after guiding the ship of state during a period of unprecedented storm and stress, sends forth this message both to his own countrymen and to us. Lest there be any among us of so little faith as to doubt the real meaning of those memorable words, lest there be any Englishman inclined to whittle down the meaning of this promise, I hope there will be an authentic and definite proclamation with regard to which there will be no evasion, no misunderstanding possible. (*Applause.*) So far as we the people are

concerned, there is no real reason for mistrust, for this policy proclaimed so long ago and repeated so recently has been fruitful of innumerable beneficent results. Officials, even the highest, may sometimes have spoken or even acted in a different spirit, but England always did and does still consider it her glorious mission to raise this once great country from her fallen position to her ancient status among the nations of the earth, (*applause and "hear, hear"*) and she enjoins every English official in India to consider himself a trustee bound to make over his charge to the rightful owner the moment the latter attains to years of discretion. (*Applause*).

But are there any among us who, while accepting His Excellency's message of hope, are disposed to demur to the qualification therein expressed, namely, that the goal is not yet? If so, I do not hesitate to express my entire disagreement, because I would sooner take the risk of displeasing than injuring my beloved countrymen. I am fortified in my opinion when I find that almost every prominent leader of the Congress has laboured to impress upon all true lovers of our country that the path is long and devious and that we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised land. "Day will not break the sooner because we get up before the twilight." The end will not come by impatience. I maintain that no true friend of India will place the ideal of Self-Government before us without this necessary qualification. It inevitably makes passionate youth, anxious to avoid the steep and weary

path, take to dangerous and even fatal short-cuts, for it is unfortunately true that impetuous youth finds it easier to die for a glorious ideal than to live and work for it with steady patience and persistent self-sacrifice. I yield to none in my desire for self-government (*applause*) but I recognise that there is a wide gulf between desire and attainment. (*Hear, hear.*)

### ONE GOAL, ONE PATH.

Let us argue out for ourselves freely and frankly the various ways by which we can obtain the priceless treasure of self-government. It seems to me that it is possible only in one of the three following ways :—

First, by way of a free gift from the British nation.

Second, by wresting it from them.

Third, by means of such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it and, on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it. (*Applause*)

Now, as to the first, the free gift. Even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom

and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity: nor must we forget that India free can never be ancient India restored. Such a vision, as has been justly remarked, could only be realised if India free from the English could have stood in a tranquil solitude or in a sphere of absolute isolation, but unfortunately the hard facts of the modern world have to be faced and India, free from England, but without any real power of resistance, would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations.

As to the second, I doubt if the extremest of the extremists consider it feasible to win self-government immediately by means of a conflict with the British Power. Such a conflict is impossible, if not inconceivable; and I cannot imagine any sane man thinking that assassinations of policemen and dacoities committed on peaceful unoffending citizens will do aught but retard progress towards our goal. (*Hear, hear.*) Such acts, if they proceeded from any considerable section of the people, would only emphasise our absolute incompetence for self-government, (*hear, hear*) which demands the highest qualities of patient preparation and of silent and unobtrusive work in every aspect of our social and political life. Fortunately, acts like those I have mentioned are reprobated throughout India. They may appeal to the perverted imagination of misguided youth, but are abhorrent to the sober sense of the great mass of the great peoples of India. They alienate not only the

sympathy of those Englishmen whose support would be invaluable to our cause, both in India and in England, but they provoke the bitterest resentment among our own people who naturally shrink from an ideal where lawlessness is likely to have sway. On your behalf and my own, I express my utmost and unqualified detestation of these lawless acts, and I fervently appeal to all sections of our people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of these dastardly crimes which besmirch the fair fame of our country, and I pray to them so to co-operate with the authorities as to render their detection and punishment absolutely certain.

Brother-delegates, we are left, therefore, with the third alternative as the only means of attaining the goal of self-government. Before I deal with it, let me remind you of a parable in Mr. Edwin Bevan's thoughtful little book on *Indian Nationalism.* He likens the condition of our country to that of a man whose whole bodily frame, suffering from severe injuries and grievous lesions, has been put in a steel frame by a skilful surgeon. This renders it necessary for the injured man, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame—until nature resumes her active processes. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time: perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon

will only make the matter worse, and, above all, the aid of the surgeon is indispensable and it is foolish to grudge the necessary fee.

When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and production of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India. Political wiseacres tell us that history does not record any precedent in which a foreign nation has, with its own hands, freed trom bondage a people which it has itself conquered. I will not pause to point out, what has been pointed out so often, that India was never conquered in the literal sense of the word, and, as very properly observed by the late Sir John Seeley, India is not a possession of England in the sense of legally being a tributary to England any more than any of her colonies. I will not wait to examine the cases of French Canada and the Boer Republics in South Africa to whom free institutions have been granted. But has there been a situation before this in the history ot mankind like that of India to-day? Has there been a nation whose ideas of political morality have ever reached those of the great English nation? Has there been any another nation which has fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom and liberty of other nations as the English? My faith is based not on emotion, not on unreasoning sentiment: it rests on the

record of what has already been achieved by the undying labours of far-sighted English statesmen and noble-hearted Indian patriots, both those who are still working for the cause and those whose labours are done and whose spirits hover over us to-day and guide and inspire us. The East and the West *have* met—not in vain. The invisible scribe who has been writing the most marvellous history that ever was written has not been idle. Those who have the discernment and inner vision to see will know that there is only one goal and there is only one path.

The regeneration and reconstruction of India can take place only under the guidance and control of England, and while we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. (*Applause and "hear, hear."*) We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration. It seems to me that, having fixed our goal, it is hardly necessary to attempt to define in concrete terms the precise relationship that will exist between India and England when the goal is reached. Whatever may be the connection of India with England in the distant future, her impress on India could never be effaced and the inter-communion of the spirit and the breathing of new life

into India by England will be a permanent factor which could never be discounted. Autonomy within the Empire is the accepted political faith of the Congress, and I find it difficult to believe that our patriotism and our love of country cannot be reconciled to the picture of the future which generous statesmen like Lord Haldane draw, in which Englishmen and Indians will be fellow-citizens of a common empire and of a common and splendid heritage, all of us bringing our special talents to bear co-operatively for the common good of the whole. For the attainment of this great ideal, our first great duty is the exercise of the difficult but indispensable virtue of patience. There is no royal road to that goal, and we must all patiently, persistently and strenuously co-operate in all measures necessary for that purpose. Some of these can be undertaken only by the Government, others will depend on ourselves alone, but none will bear fruit without a spirit of mutual trust, toleration and forbearance. In order to foster this spirit, so far as we, the people of India, are concerned, it is vitally necessary to admit them, in an ever-increasing measure, to direct an active participation in the higher work of government in all its branches, civil as well as military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative. It is a cruel calumny which asserts that, when asking for the expansion of the powers of our Legislative Councils, for the appointment of Indians to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, for the admission of a

large number of Indians to the Indian Civil Service and all other branches of the higher public services, the Indian National Congress asks only for honors and appointments for the members of the educated classes. It may be that some of those who still persist in repeating this libel on the intelligence and patriotism of this country in good faith believe it to be true. If so, they have failed to take note of well-known facts, namely, that Congress leaders like Telang, Tyabji, Krishnaswamy Iyer and others accepted high office only at considerable personal sacrifice and that others had to refuse because they could not afford to make the necessary sacrifice. These critics have neglected to read the literature of the Congress. In any case, they have missed the point of it all, namely, that these measures are advocated only as means to an end. They are valuable chiefly because they concede the demand of the people for direct and active participation in the work of Government, not merely as tools and agents, but as members of the Government itself. They are valuable only in so far as they tend to identify the people with the Government, and enable them to think of the Government as their own and not as an alien bureaucracy imposed on an unwilling people by a conquering nation. We can afford to treat the taunts of these unfriendly critics with contempt, but there is another school of critics whose counsels are more seductive though not more sound. These insist on the impotence of the Reformed Legislative Councils, whose resolutions

they ridicule as mere pious wishes. They see no good in the powers of interpellation and discussion of the Budget. They treat the admission of one Indian into each of the existing Executive Councils as a matter of no consequence, because it has not produced immediate or far-reaching changes in the ordinary routine of administration. They insist that even a liberal and philosophic historian like Viscount Bryce has pointed out that no more in India than in the Roman Empire has there been any question of establishing free institutions, either for the country as a whole or for any particular Province; and that the Council Reforms of 1861, 1892 and 1909 were merely intended to give opportunities and means for the expression of Indian opinion and not to give any real power to the people. Well, it does not require much political acumen to discover that we in India are yet a long way off from free institutions and that the reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils. But it is my firm belief that the privileges already acquired, if used with industry and moderation and tact, will, in no distant future, receive considerable enlargement, and we must continue to press for further expansion in all the directions I have mentioned, undeterred by the criticism of the one and the cynicism of the other. We shall continue to urge the enlargement of the powers and modifications of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We shall continue to ask for larger and yet larger admis-

sion of Indians to the higher ranks of the public services in all its branches and we shall claim these not as mere concessions but as a gradual fulfilment of solemn pledges for the progressive nationalisation of the government of the country. We shall continue our labours till really free institutions *are* established for the whole of the country, (*applause*) —not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress.

### WHAT THE CONGRESS WANTS

When I accepted my nomination for this chair, I knew—as all of you must have known—that I was not likely to be able to suggest any specific measures of reform other than those so long advocated by this Congress. But I felt—I trust without undue presumption—that having been in the inner Councils of the Government for however short a time, it was peculiarly my duty to act as your spokesman on this occasion. (*Applause.*) It is in that belief that I appeal to the British nation to declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire, to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal and to furnish her escort on the long and weary road. Such a declaration will be the most distinguished way of marking their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—her loyalty and her devotion to the Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people for more than any mere specific political reforms. These latter may

fall short of the high expectations raised by utterances of the responsible English statesmen as to the future place of India in the Empire and they may cause general disappointment. But an authoritative declaration of policy on the lines I suggest will, without causing such disappointment, carry conviction to the minds of the people that the pace of the administrative reforms will be reasonably accelerated and that henceforth it will be only a question of patient preparation. The most appropriate opportunity for such a declaration will be the moment when the victory of England and her Allies will establish for ever the triumph of free institutions over old-world doctrines of military absolutism.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that all that is wanted, all that would satisfy us, is a mere declaration of policy: what I do say is that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow, and I ask that steps should be taken to move towards self-government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire. (*Applause.*)

I have great pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude two

recent measures which, though not exactly steps towards self-government, amount to some recognition of India's place in the Empire. The first, thanks to the statesmanlike efforts of Lord Hardinge, is the partial amelioration of the condition of the Indian emigrants in South Africa, and the other is the acceptance by Lord Hardinge's Government of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi's resolution for an official representation of India at the Imperial Conference. I would, however, venture to suggest that in addition to the official representative, one or two of the Indian Princes who have rendered such conspicuous service to the Empire might fittingly represent the great Continent of India. The delegation of one or two distinguished Indian Chiefs to the Imperial Conference will, in addition to other honors no doubt in store for them, be a just recognition to their pre-eminent services and will gratify public opinion throughout the length and breadth of India.

Coming to domestic politics, I do not think it necessary that I should, on the present occasion, deal in detail with the various concrete measures which the Congress advocates as an effective advance towards self-government on lines suited to India's special requirements. A decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the

various executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the abolition of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire—these are reforms which have long been urged and which will be dealt with by you, I have no doubt, so far as you think necessary. I am afraid, however, most of them must stand over for adjustment till peace is in sight.

# MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDIANS

*At the Bombay Congress of* 1915 *Sir S. P. Sinha urged in his Presidential Address the demand for granting Commissions to Indians in the Army and facilities for military training*:

There can be, I venture to think, no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. (*Hear, hear*).

If there is trouble, others will quiet it down. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is a danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it.

When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, (*hear, hear*) and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings. (*Loud applause*).

I shall be the first to acknowledge that various steps have been, and are being, taken by the Government to promote the right spirit of self-help in the country, but I feel, and I feel strongly, that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles ("*shame*") in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect. (*Applause*).

For what is the present condition of things? Except certain warlike races like the Sikhs and Rajputs, the people generally are debarred from receiving any kind of military training. Not only are they not allowed enlistment in the ranks of His Majesty's Army, but they are even precluded from joining any volunteer corps. Even with regard to the classes of men—Sikhs and Rajputs, Gurkhas and Pathans, etc.—who are taken into the regular army for the simple reason that the number of English troops is not in itself sufficient to maintain peace and order in this country (*Applause*)—even with reference to these classes, it is an inflexible rule that though they may now obtain the highest badge of valour, *viz.*, the Victoria Cross, not one of them can receive a Commission in His Majesty's Army (*Cries of " shame "*) irrespective of birth or bravery, education or efficiency.

While the humblest European and Eurasian and even the West India Negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies even to the most law-abiding and respectable Indian the privilege of possessing or carrying arms of any description except as a matter of special concession and indulgence, often depending on the whim and caprice of unsympathetic officials. (*Applause and " shame "*).

To my mind the mere statement of the present system ought to be sufficient to secure its condemnation.

Let me proceed to state shortly what changes we consider essential to remedy this state of things.

1st.—We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness;

2nd.—We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests. We ask that the military college or colleges should be established in India (*applause*) where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission;

3rd.—We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline; and

4th.—We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. (*Applause*). This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are attempted to be justified on the same ground of political expediency.

Let us pause for a moment and consider the objections that are generally brought forward against the first three proposals.

As to the right to join the ranks, irrespective of race or Province of origin, objections are put forward, firstly, that not all the races of India provide good fighting material and that many of them lack the physical courage necessary for the army. And, secondly, that many of them are

neither willing nor anxious to join the ranks or to enter the army in any capacity.

The last may be dealt with in a few words. We are asking for a right, and if it turns out that some of us and even all of us are not willing to avail ourselves of that right,—well, there will be no compulsion on them to do so, and nobody will be the worse off because of the right. On the contrary, it will remove a grievance bitterly felt and loudly complained of and will redound to the credit of Government.

As regards the first objection, *viz.*, the want of necessary martial spirit in certain classes or races, it requires more serious consideration. The argument is this: the country can afford to keep as a standing army only a certain number of trained soldiers and officers and it must get the best it can for the money it spends, and if certain races are unfit by reason of inherent want of courage for the profession of arms, the State would naturally select its soldiers from other classes. So say our opponents.

Taking it at its full strength, this argument has its limitation. For you cannot govern a State on exactly the same principles as you manage a shop. (*Applause and "hear, hear"*.) You may get better value for your money by getting as your soldier an Afridi or a Pathan or any non-British subject, but by excluding the Parsi, or the Madrasi, or the Bengali, you create a feeling of grievance, if not of actual resentment, which is certain to cause serious

embarrassment in the work of general administration. You render it possible for the excluded classes to consider themselves as *equal* subjects and citizens responsible for the defence of the country, and you fail to foster that spirit of self-help and that sense of self-respect among those very classes which is essential to attain the goal of imperial unity.

Hitherto I have proceeded upon the assumption that some of the races in India are lacking in the physical courage necessary for the profession of arms. But, I ask, is it a correct hypothesis? (*No, no.*) Is it true that the Bengali—I am taking him as a type only—has not and will never have the requisite physical courage? (*No, no.*) The theory was started by Macaulay in his too sweeping condemnation of the people of the Gangetic delta, forgetting that the Bengal peasantry has always been a sturdy and virile class, particularly in tracts not touched by malaria. But take even the professional or educated classes in Bengal. A good many of them who enlisted under conditions of great personal sacrifice, are at the present moment working in Mesopotamia as an Ambulance Corps, (*Applause and "hear, hear"*) and I am confident all British officers in that theatre of war from the General in Command downwards will tell you that not a single man in that Corps has proved himself deficient either in physical courage or in endurance.

Take another example nearer home. There is a body of public servants much misunderstood and therefore very often much maligned. I know there

is a prejudice against them. I refer to the Bengali officers of the C.I.D. of the Police. Ask any Englishman in Bengal you like, from His Excellency the Governor downwards, and I am sure he will tell you there is not one among those officers who does not unflinchingly face death daily and hourly for the sake of duty and loyalty (*Applause*) and, let me add that he does so, often in spite of much obloquy and great discouragement.

I take leave to point out, therefore, that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms. But even if it were so, is it not the obvious duty of England so to train them as to remove this incapacity (*Applause*) as they are trying to remove so many others, especially if it be the case, as there is some reason to believe it is, that it is English rule which has brought them to such a pass? (*Hear, hear.*) England has ruled this country for considerably over 150 years now, and surely it cannot be a matter of pride to her that at the end of this period the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventurers. There are some of our critics who never fail to remind us that if the English were to leave the country to-day, we would have to wire to them to come back before they got as far as Aden. (*Laughter.*) Some even enjoy the grim joke that were the English

to withdraw now, there would be neither a rupee nor a virgin left in some parts of the country. For my part, I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. (*Applause.*) A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice, and over righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself in the highest degree that, after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition (*Applause*) as the Britons were in the beginning of the fifth century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes. (*Applause*).

In asking, therefore, for the right of military training we are only seeking to remedy the results I have described. We are seeking to regain our lost self-respect and to strengthen our sense of civic responsibility. We are seeking to regain the right to defend our homes and hearths against possible invaders, should the strong protecting arm of England be ever withdrawn from our country. It is no mere sentiment that compels us to demand this inalienable right of all human beings, though sentiment has its undoubted place in the scheme of every government. Some day or other, our right arm may be called upon to defend all that man

holds most precious. For who will venture to prophesy that sooner or later there may not be another such conflict as is now convulsing the world, when there may be new alliances and fresh combinations and when England may not have the same allies and advantages as she has now? (*Hear, hear.*)

I have endeavoured to prove that neither of the objections which are generally put forward against our claims to enlistment in the army is tenable. I have tried to show the justice as well as the necessity of our demands.

In the face of what has happened in the present war, it is no longer correct to say what Lord Bryce said in 1912. This is what Lord Bryce said:—

> To England, however, apart from the particular events which might have created the snapping of the tie and apart from the possible loss of a market, severance from India need involve no lasting injury. To be mistress of a vast country, whose resources for defence need to be supplemented by her own, adds indeed to the fame *but does not add to her strength.* (The italics are mine.) England was great and powerful before she owned a yard of land in Asia, and might be great and powerful again with no more foot-hold in the East than would be needed for the naval prestige which protects her commerce.

The resources for defence which India possesses even now do add to the strength of England as has been so amply proved in the present war. This strength could be multiplied a hundred-fold were our claims ever conceded. For, if the people of India are allowed and trained to bear arms, what

nation is there on the face of the earth whose strength would compare with that of England? (*Applause.*) Nor is there any reason for apprehension that such concessions would be a source of internal danger. If the Sikh, the Gurkha, the Mahratta and the Pathan—good and valiant soldiers as they are—are found to be loyal and law-abiding, there is no reason to think that the case would be otherwise with the other races when admitted to the same status and privileges. (*Applause.*) Besides, we are only asking that the privileges are to be granted subject only to such conditions, rules, regulations and safeguards to ensure proper discipline and control.

In the case of Volunteers also, they will be similarly subject to all proper safeguards and restrictions which will be for the Government to lay down.

Subject to such safeguards the ranks or volunteer corps will afford, without any risk whatever to the Government or the people, an outlet for restless energies which now find doubtful and dangerous channels.

In making these demands, I know I raise as large a question as the formation of a national militia. I desire frankly and freely to meet the criticism that such an army, with a preponderance of the Indian element, may be turned against the British Government. I venture to submit in reply that anarchists and seditionists may succeed in winning over an ignorant and mercenary army, but they will never succeed in winning over a truly national army,

(*Applause*) drawn from a people made increasingly loyal by the spread of education and liberal self-governing institutions. (*Hear, hear.*) Of course, I am not suggesting that the army should be *nationalized* in a day any more than that the Government of the country should be nationalized by a stroke of the pen. But I urge in all humility that the time has come for making the beginning of a National Army in India. (*Hear, hear.*) The tremendous shock with which every part of our world-wide Empire has realised the prime necessity of maintaining an army large enough for its defence and protection renders it imperative that a strong National Army should be raised and maintained in every part of India.

The opening of a military career will fire the imagination and stimulate the virility of India in a way that nothing else can do. And it is too much for India to expect to be treated in the same way as Russia treats her subject races—especially after the proof she has given of the powers of her sons and their devotion and their loyalty to the imperial standard.

Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support every one of the claims I have ventured to put forward; and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the war has changed the *angle of vision* of our rulers. (*Hear, hear.*) It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier, Mr. Asquith:

That the Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights.

I now come to the last but not the least important of our claims in this respect, *viz.*, that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be abolished. Sentiment as well as reason alike recommends it. Not only will the galling sense of racial inferiority and the overt imputation of universal disloyalty be removed by such a measure, but people will also get rid of onerous disabilities in the way of defending themselves against the attacks of wild animals as well as lawless human adversaries.

## LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

*In concluding his Presidential Address to the Bombay Congress in* 1915, *Sir S. P. Sinha made the following observations on the need for the development of local self-government:—*

If ever we attain our goal of self-government, it will not be merely through the expansion of Legislative Councils and their powers, nor yet through the admission of more Indians to Executive Councils or the establishment even of a national militia, though all of them have no doubt their proper use and importance in the scheme of our national progress. It will come in a very great measure with the advance and development of local self-government. When people generally so far understand their civic rights and duties as to be able to manage their own communal business, their roads and drains, their tanks and wells, their schools and dispensaries, it will no longer be possible to keep them from controlling the higher work of administration. Indeed, it is not always possible to do the latter satisfactorily without having served a full term of apprenticeship in the former, and I cannot do better than remind you of what was said by Mrs. Besant in her address to the Congress last

December, while supporting the resolution on Self-Government:

The training for self-government is of vital import to the nation to-day. For the government of States is at once a science and an art: and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local self-government, then in provincial autonomy, and finally in the self-government of the nation: (*hear, hear*) for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth. . . . . . What then should you do? You should take part in local government wherever it is possible. As it is, take it and practice it, for you will gain experience and you will gain knowledge; and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils and to make your voice heard over vast areas. (*Applause*). So I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own drains, particularly your water-works. Those are the alphabets of self-government and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success.

No less emphatic was the advice of one of our most revered leaders of the Congress, Sir Subramania Iyer, as President of the Reception Committee of the last Congress. If this is the view of our leaders, the views of Government are no less clear. We need not go further back than the memorable Resolution of 1882 of Lord Ripon. You will remember what a generous scheme of local self-government was there laid down "to foster sedulously the small beginnings of independent political life." It will take me long, and it will hardly be profitable, to trace the history of the

failure, the dismal failure, of that scheme. But I may be pardoned for pointing out that the failure was due neither to the Government of India, nor to the local Government, nor yet to the civil service in India, as is sometimes hastily assumed, but, so far at any rate as Bengal is concerned, to the whole framework of the scheme being changed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, in spite of the protests and objections of the authorities in this country.

Lord Ripon's Resolution laid down the following fundamental principles:—

1. That the local Governments should maintain throughout the country a network of Local Boards charged with definite duties and entrusted with definite funds.

2. That the jurisdiction of the Primary Boards should be so limited in area as to ensure both local knowledge and local interest on the part of each of the members.

3. That there should be a preponderance of non-official members to be chosen by election wherever possible.

4. That Government control on these bodies should be exercised from without rather than from within, non-official elected chairmen acting, wherever practicable, as chairmen of the Local Boards.

The Decentralisation Commission in their Report dealt with the matter at some length and also made some definite recommendations.

Lord Morley in his Reform Despatch dated 27th November, 1908, said :—

The village in India has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire, (said Lord Morley to the Viceroy) Your Excellency to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life.

We have next the Resolution of Lord Hardinge's Government dated 1st of May, 1915, dealing with and assenting to many of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. We are, therefore, in agreement with Government as to the importance of local self-government. It is a matter of further general agreement that the re-development of the village as an administrative unit has been brought within the range of practical politics by the spread of the co-operative movement. I find from the report of Sir E. Maclagan's Committee on Co-operation in India that primary societies have grown from 832 in 1906-07 to 14,566 in 1913-14, the number of members from 68,582 to 661,859, and the amount of working capital from *nil* to 46,427,842 rupees. The report states :—

No one reading these figures can fail to be struck by the magnitude which the growth has already attained or to be convinced that the movement has taken firm root. Societies are now so spread over all parts of India and the advantages which their members are obtaining are so patent that it is impossible to doubt that the movement will eventually attain a dimension compared to which its present size will appear negligible. As a consequence, there will undoubtedly arise,

through the medium of co-operation, a powerful organisation formed of those agricultural classes, who are at present inarticulate through want of education and cohesion.

Local self-government, supplemented by the spread of the co-operative movement, will gradually solve many of our most difficult problems—such as primary education, small industries, improved agriculture, indebtedness of the peasantry, rural sanitation and so forth, and to this we must devote our best energies and attention in the immediate future, bearing in mind that we have got to build from the village upwards.

Here is a vast field in which we can, in co-operation with the Government, work heart and soul for the amelioration of the condition of the masses of our people. It has been forcibly pointed out by that good friend of India, Sir Daniel Hamilton, that the development of the co-operative movement in the villages requires thousands of men. The civilians who have been in charge of this movement have done wonders considering their numbers. They deserve the very highest praise, but their numbers are far too few. 12,000 village banks seem a large number to have been started in ten years, but, at the same rate of progress, India will not have been covered with village banks for another 400 or 500 years. Is the great industry of India, agriculture to wait all this time before it is provided with a banking system? Are the 250 millions of Indian cultivators to go on paying 30, 40 and 50 per cent. for their finance for hundreds of years to come, while the rest of the

civilised world gets all the money it wants at 3, 4 and 5 per cent? What India wants is more men to develop co-operative credit and she must have them. The men are there, hundreds of them being turned out of her colleges every year with nothing to do, with nothing to look forward to. And every Indian will join in the expression of the hope that we shall soon see established in every province of India, schools for the training in co-operative methods and co-operative finance of the best of India's young men, who will carry the co-operative flag into every village of India, and wage war on the darkness and the ignorance and poverty which exist to-day and which are in a large measure due to want of co-operation. In the same connection, my friend, Sir Theodore Morison, has gathered from official reports highly interesting illustrations which Co-operative Credit Societies are giving to the self-culture of the people. In one instance, a man of middle age learnt to read and write slowly to keep the accounts of the bank of which he was President, and, though his first efforts were painfully hard to decipher, he persevered to such good purpose that his books are now the best kept in the Punjab. In another village, the President and officers of the bank had acquired such influence that they had reconstituted the ancient authority of the village Panchayat for settling local disputes, with the result that litigation, which had been the curse of the place before, has now much decreased.

While I gratefully acknowledge the efforts now

being made by the Government in all provinces for well and truly laying the foundations of local self-government, I cannot help regretting that the Resolution of the Government of India of last Summer does not go far enough or even as far as Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 in the direction of recommending less official control and a greater extension of the elective principle, both as regards members and chairmen of District Boards. Let not our rulers forget that

> self-government implies the right to go wrong for it is nobler for a nation as for a man to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality, however blindly and vainly, than to live in irreproachable decency under expert guidance from without.

It is not possible for us any more now than it was for Lord Ripon in 1882 to lay down any hard-and-fast rules which shall be of universal application in a country so vast and its local circumstances so varied as British India. All we can do is to ask that the principles laid down by Lord Ripon of undying memory should be generously given effect to, *viz.*, distinct funds with distinct duties, not too large administrative areas, more and more of elections (both of members and chairmen) and less and less of official control from within. From our side schemes for different provinces have been put forward from 1870 downwards. I will mention only those of the late Mr. Malabari, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. Gokhale. Schemes have also been prepared from the official side in almost all the different

provinces—Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces. It ought not, therefore, to be difficult in the existing state of the land to make an effective advance at once on an adjustment of these different schemes—and, if it is made in the right spirit, I feel confident that the ultimate success of local self-government in India is absolutely certain.

It is for us to co-operate whole-heartedly with the officials for the success of the different measures of local self-government which are already being undertaken in the different provinces. Let us not assume, as we are sometimes unfortunately inclined to do, that the Civilians will be loth to part with the powers which they have hitherto possessed. Let us in justice to the Indian Civil Service remember that the members of that distinguished body have never spared themselves in the service of India. Let me also implore my friends of the Indian Civil Service not to commit the mistake of looking upon the educated Indian as out of touch with his less-favoured countrymen or trying to keep the latter down for his own personal profit and advancement. Let us look upon each other as willing and necessary coadjutors for the advancement of India in every department. Let us not rail at the mote in our brother's eye without considering the beam that is in our own. Let neither of us indulge in prejudice or fretfulness, but work in friendly co-operation for the progress and prosperity of the teeming millions of India.

MEMORY
V. R. NARLA

## BRITAIN AND INDIA

*The following article, an account of an interview with Sir S. P. Sinha before he left for England, in February,* 1917, *appeared in the "Christian Science Monitor," an American paper*:—

In conversation with the representative of the *Christian Science Monitor* at his house in Elysium Row, Calcutta, he enlarged upon the meaning of India's attitude in the War. The *Christian Science Monitor* representative remarked upon his own wonderment at the phenomenon: "Your astonishment was shared by many others who have been in India for many years," said Sir Satyendra, "but, of course, the *spontaneity of India's loyalty came* as no surprise to us who belong to the country, and are in touch with the people. We knew that India was loyal, and we had often told you so. We told you that the anarchists counted for nothing, and did not represent the real feelings and sentiment of India.

"The reasons for India's loyalty to the British Crown are simple. British rule has insured peace to this country for 150 years, and that, coming as it has done, after a nightmare of anarchy lasting for a considerable period, has aroused a deep sense of appreciation and gratitude in the great majority of thoughtful Indians. Whether British rule is an

unmixed blessing—whether, for example, India enjoys as large a measure of material prosperity as she might have, if a different fiscal and economic policy had been pursued—is, of course, another story. But that, after all, is a question of degree. It is quite certain that India has, in many ways, benefited by British rule, and above all, she has left the blessings of an impartial administration of justice, and a stable Government. The homes, the lives and the property of her people have enjoyed a security unknown for many, many years. For the sake of these blessings alone she is anxious for the continuance of the British connection."

Asked whether it was probable that the Home Government had come to any decision as to the future of India after the War, Sir Satyendra expressed himself as doubtful. "I could wish that they had made up their minds about it," he remarked, "for I cannot help thinking that the longer they hesitate to declare themselves, the less likelihood is there that they will come to a bold and statesmanlike decision.

India, of course, has got a great deal that she wanted. She is making steady progress socially and industrially, and she has the prospect, in the dim and distant future, of obtaining Self-Government. But that is not enough. India is painfully conscious of rigid limitations which come into play the moment she aspires to develop beyond a certain point. Indians have their own ideas of self-expression. Repress those ideas, and you dwarf us, even

granting that you offer us more perfect ideas of your own. In the matter of Government, for example, it is, from our point of view, less important now that we should have a perfect government than that we should govern ourselves.

"When we speak of Self-Government," continued Sir Satyendra earnestly, "not one of us ever contemplates any separation between Great Britain and India. We gladly recognise that the ties between the two countries are too strong to break, and, if they were not, we would not have them broken. Let the British Government retain the amplest powers of veto over all our affairs. But, subject to that veto, let us have now an instalment of Self-Government on colonial lines, and let the basis of these concessions be broadened as rapidly as we fit ourselves for their extension. Of course, we shall make mistakes—there will be many and big mistakes. Atrocities even may occur—never mind, even they will not prove that you have been wrong to trust us. Only be bold, and the outcome will be not merely a contented and prosperous India, but an India which will be ten times as strong a British asset as she is to-day.

"I am no sentimentalist. I do not rest these proposals merely on grounds of abstract justice to India, but also upon considerations of the highest expediency to Great Britain. It is to Britain's interest that India should be happy, prosperous and self-governed. Such an India will be a source of strength to the Empire in every way. India only

asks to be trusted. Surely she has earned a right to that?"

Discussing the objections to his proposals from the conservative British view point, Sir Satyendra Sinha said: "We are sometimes told that, because it took you centuries of struggle and development to work out your political freedom, therefore, we must be content to progress at the same deliberate pace. Are we, then, to derive no benefit from your experience? Surely you were working out the problem of free institutions for all mankind? Railways were started in England less than a century ago, but you have not insisted on making us wait for them as long as you had to wait. I know Englishmen are cautious by nature and temperament, but extreme caution is sometimes no less harmful than its opposite. And for this purpose—that is, cautioning, as it were, against extreme caution—I would like to read you a passage from Ruskin." Here Sir Satyendra took up a little book which lay on the table and read as follows: "All measures of reformation are effective in exact proportion to their timeliness. Partial decay may be cut away and cleansed, incipient error corrected; but there is a point at which corruption can no more be stayed, nor wandering recalled."

"What I am contending for," pursued Sir Satyendra, "is not merely a matter of better treatment for individuals. It is not enough to offer so-and-so a high position in your Government. You should give us real Self-Governing powers."

"Is it your opinion," he was asked, "that the

Indians have made the best possible use of the limited powers of Self-Government which have already been conceded?" "It is :my opinion," he replied, "that, considering the very limited opportunities afforded to them of schooling themselves in the art and practice of Self-Government they have done extraordinarily well. If we are to wait for true Self-Government, they have done extraordinarily well. If we are to wait for true Self-Government until we are perfect, we shall wait for ever. In the words of Dr. Johnson, "Nothing will ever be attempted, if all possible objections must be first overcome."

"What," next inquired the *Christian Science Monitor* representative, "would be the effect of a Self-Governing India upon the position of non-official European residents?" "Please remember," answered Sir Satyendra, "that we always postulate the continuance of British rule. That is a guarantee that we shall always welcome the British merchant and rejoice in his prosperity. For a long time to come, we must look up to the British as our guides and mentors."

"Speaking as one who is not an Englishman," said the interviewer, "but who comes from a neighbouring country, I must confess to a growing admiration for the tolerance and humanity of the Englishman, which have been so strikingly exemplified in the present struggle, both on land and sea." Sir Satyendra displayed emotion for the first time. "Do you know," he said, "I find it very difficult to

say all I feel about the Englishman. As I said in my presidential address to the National Congress at Bombay, no other race could or would have done the work of the English in India. I admire them—nay, I love them—for I believe that they are a people physically, mentally and morally clean; and if I am sometimes called upon to attack them or criticise them when they seem to fall short of their own standard, I assure you it is not with pleasure that I do so." "Let England trust us," said Sir Satyendra in conclusion, "and she will never regret it."

## FAREWELL SPEECH AT CALCUTTA

*A Farewell dinner in honour of Sir S. P. Sinha was given at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 4th February, the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan presiding. The attendance numbered some one hundred and eighty and included Sir K. G. Gupta, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Rashbehary Ghosh, Hon. Mr. B. N. Basu, the Maharaja of Nadia, Dr. Nilratan Sircar, and the Raja of Dighapatia. Sir S. P. Sinha spoke as follows :—*

Thank you most heartily for the very cordial manner in which you have responded to the toast of my health and I thank my friend the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and my friend Sir K. G. Gupta for the extremely kind things which they have been pleased to say about me. I feel very proud indeed that I have been chosen as one of the representatives of the Government of India to go to the War Conference, and I deem it indeed a privilege to work with colleagues like H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Hon'ble Sir James Meston. I am proud indeed of the honour of being called upon to serve my King but knowing my limitation as I do, I feel the great weight of the responsibility which that honour has laid upon my shoulders. I can only approach the task which has been allotted to me in a spirit

of humility. Gentlemen, I regard this gathering not so much as in honour to myself but as a mark of Bengal's appreciation for the signal advance in the political development of our beloved country. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Gentlemen, taking the constitution of the British Empire as it exists in the present moment, and as a practical man, I venture to think that a great step has been taken to secure the representation of Indian views at the coming Conference—a step which is full of great promise for the future. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I am sure, gentlemen, you will not expect me to make a declaration of what I consider to be the Indian view on such questions as are likely to come before the Conference. I am sure you do not expect it because the reason is obvious and sufficient, namely, that I, like everybody here, am entirely unaware of what is the nature of the questions which are likely to come up for discussion before the Conference. In my humble opinion, therefore, any declaration of that kind would under these circumstances be worse than useless. It would be absolutely and positively mischievous. I will content myself with stating merely that in summoning men from all parts of the Empire in order they might give His Majesty such advice and such help as they are capable of giving, the King-Emperor has marked in a singular manner his appreciation of the help which has been so willingly and so ungrudgingly rendered by all parts

of the Empire for the successful prosecution of the war. (Hear, hear and applause.) So far as lies in my power, I shall endeavour to give an honest and straightforward opinion from what I conceive to be the Indian point of view on any question which might arise for discussion in the coming Conference. I believe that the Indian point of view can be best presented by an Indian himself. (Hear.)

Gentlemen, the present war is a life-and-death struggle for the achievement of that freedom which is our ambition as much as it is the ambition of England herself (hear, hear and applause). I believe—to repeat a phrase which I used on another occasion—I believe with the fervour of a religious faith that we shall find that freedom within the British Empire (hear, hear) and—I mark my words—within the British Empire alone. England as a nation is dedicated to freedom, is dedicated to government of the people by the people for the people (hear, hear and applause), and the great issue involved in the present crisis is whether a nation so constituted shall endure and subsist. On England's victory all our hopes are centred. Does anyone think, I am sure no one does—does anyone here think that the best of England which upholds this high ideal will not appreciate our aspiration? Does anyone think that she will not realise that what we Indians ask for is that same freedom for which she asks us to help her to fight? (Hear, hear and applause). Gentlemen, I have faith in England; I believe she will win the war (hear, hear), and what is more I

believe she will be true to her own ideals (hear, hear). I should like to quote to you, before I sit down, the words uttered more than 50 years ago by the very distinguished President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, after his country had been torn by a calamitous war: "With malign towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Gentlemen, it is in this spirit that I humbly approach the task which it pleased my King to impose upon me. May the God of all nations grant me grace that I may discharge my duties for the service of my country. (Loud and continued applause).

## SPEECH AT MANCHESTER

*The ceremony for the presentation of the Freedom of the City of Manchester to Sir S. P. Sinha took place in the Council Chamber, Manchester, on April* 23, 1917. *Sir S. P. Sinha addressed these words in responding to the Lord Mayor's welcome.*

Sir Satyendra Sinha having expressed his sense of appreciation of the honour conferred upon him, claimed the day's proceedings to be both a symbol and a sign. He took it as symbol of the outstretching of the right hand of fellowship to the teeming millions of his countrymen across the sea, and as the sign and seal of their approval of the policy of His Majesty's Government in calling India for the first time to the Council of the Empire. That day in the *Manchester Guardian,* which had for years done yeoman service to the cause of India—(hear, hear)—he had read a most kindly reference to the representatives from India, which, while hinting that there had been an unfortunate difference of personal opinion on a question of economic policy, conveyed the assurance that, notwithstanding, Manchester would do her best to strengthen the hundred ties which united his country to Lancashire herself. (Cheers.) They had confidence, and the proceedings of that day made it abundantly clear that

Manchester would in the future, as for nearly three-quarters of a century, be as solicitous for the interests of India and of her millions as for her own, because in this solicitude for a common interest lay the welfare of the Empire. (Cheers.) He took the earliest opportunity of referring to the sympathetic attitude which the statesmen from the overseas Dominions—the Premiers and their colleagues—had displayed in all matters affecting the relations between themselves and India. He did not say that they had solved all the problems relating to the relations of the Dominions and India, for they were not likely, even for many long years, to solve them; but each problem as it arose was looked upon with consideration for each other, and in that he was satisfied the interests of all parts of the Empire would be best served. (Cheers.)

*Speech at the Luncheon.*

SIR S. P. SINHA said the aspiration of the people of India, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, was that they should be allowed to take a place among the great nations of the earth in science, religion, art and literature, industry and politics, without being subject to cramping and unnatural restrictions. If the services of India in the war fell short of expectations, it should be remembered that India was a poor country and that she was doing her best. (Hear, hear.) A great economic struggle would inevitably follow the war. India trusted that in the development of the man-power and all material resources

of the Empire she would not be forgotten. (Hear, hear.) But for what he would venture to call the short-sighted policy of the past, India would have been able to render far greater services in the present war. She demanded that she should not be looked upon as an undeveloped State for the production of raw materials. The minister of Education traced the effects of the Board schools the other day. The people of India were as capable of learning as any other people, and he appealed to Manchester for the help and assistance that she could undoubtedly give in this direction.

### THE MEMORY OF BRIGHT AND COBDEN.

Reference had been made to a matter on which some difference had arisen between them, but against that there were hundreds of matters in respect of which India owed a deep debt to Manchester. The Manchester school of politics had ever preached righteousness and justice. John Bright and Richard Cobden were revered and loved in India. Their names had become household words in every part of India. Nor had the stream of justice and righteousness run dry since the days of Bright and Cobden. From then until that day, in the Press, on the platform, and in Parliament, the city's best and greatest representatives had consistently supported the righteous cause of India. At the present time, a professor of the Manchester University, Sir Thomas Holland, was organising the resources of India for the immediate purposes of the war : and Manchester

was now first among the cities of England to express cordial approval of the entry of India for the first time into the Councils of the Empire. (Cheers.)

# INDIAN INDUSTRIES

*At a luncheon given by the Chairman of the East India Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, in London, on April* 26, 1917, *Sir S. P. Sinha was called upon to speak on Indian industries and commerce. The following is a summary of the speech he delivered on the occasion:—*

It had been too much the custom to fix attention in respect to Indian products on the industrial development of England. As the Secretary of State lately said, we must not look upon India as a country to be exploited for the benefit of other parts of the Empire; her raw materials must be so utilised in the creation and development of industries in India itself so as to benefit India most, and he ventured to think that it would be also to the highest advantage of the Empire as a whole. As there must be decentralisation in politics and administration, so there must be industrial decentralisation. The development of India's strength in men, money and materials would be an asset to be placed as freely at the disposal of England and the Empire in the future as in the last three years. For this work to succeed there must be the utmost spirit of co-operation between European merchants in India and his own countrymen. He had preach-

ed this doctrine of co-operation in every sphere of life, as those of them who had known him in Calcutta could testify. In social matters and in political matters, he had endeavoured to show that that way lay the salvation of his country. He knew many men amongst the European merchants, of generous impulses and of large sympathies for the people in the country, those who had lived there knew that the people of India responded readily to such impulses and instincts, and he was confident that in the future as in the past they would stretch their hands to assist in every way in that development. India's one great industry in the past had been agriculture; but no country could thrive upon agriculture alone. If she did so, it would only be by having her produce exploited to supply other nations. One of the means of future development had been referred to by the Chairman, who pointed out that a great deal had been done by the Government of India in the last few years for the purpose of improving agriculture in India. But the progress was slow on the whole. Here again he thought that the European merchant in India, instead of confining his attention merely to the export of Indian raw material, might turn his energies also to the production of those raw materials with great benefit to the country. (*Cheers.*) In this and many other ways, it was in the power of the gentlemen of the Indian section of the Chamber to help India more and more in the days to come. He was confident that

they would not grudge any opportunity of co-operation that would assist in the development of India. They would know that, as she grew stronger and marched, it might be slowly but steadily to the goal in view, she would be more and more fit to share the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire, and also to share in the glorious heritage of her liberty and freedom.

## SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL

*In acknowledging the distinction of the Freedom of the City, at the Guildhall Banquet in London, on May* 1, 1917, *Sir S. P. Sinha said:—*

If he were so presumptuous as to count the great honour which had just been conferred upon him as a personal distinction, he would indeed feel overwhelmed by a sense of unworthiness when he recalled to mind the illustrious names borne on the roll which he had just subscribed. But he rejoiced in the knowledge that the honour was intended for the country which he and his colleagues represented on this occasion. He valued and cherished it in a special degree as a mark of goodwill towards a country which had had a great past, and which had a still greater future before it as an integral part of the British Empire. (Cheers.) The hand of fellowship which the Chamberlain of the City had held out upon their behalf was, as he conceived it, stretched out to the classes whom he represented, and who would not be slow to grasp it as a token of sympathy for their ideals and aspirations, and of cordial approval of the policy which admitted India for the first time to the inner councils of the Empire. The City had been closely connected with the history and fortunes of India for over 300 years. Indeed, the British

Empire of India was born in this City in the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth, when a small body of London merchants was incorporated for purposes of trade between the two countries. For nearly two centuries and a half, the Government of India was conducted from Leadenhall Street, in the heart of this City. Whatever shortcomings there might have been in that system of government, there could be no doubt that many of the Company's representatives proved themselves to be sagacious rulers and far-sighted statesmen, who had well and truly laid the foundations of the Empire which was destined to such future greatness. Among other things they introduced the system of Western education, which had borne magnificent fruit. As early as 1813, provision was made by the Court of Directors to set apart a lakh of rupees, or £10,000 a year, at the then value of the rupee, "for the revival and promotion of literature and the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences in the British territories of India." Truly a small beginning; but India remembered with gratitude that the East India Company sowed the seed, which in words he quoted with reverence "is like to a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field, which, indeed, is the least of all seed, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come to lodge in the branches thereof." After having seen the well-equipped educational institutions in London, founded, or aided and maintained, by the munificence of City

Companies, such as St. Paul's School, the Merchant Taylors' School, the City of London School, the School of Tropical Medicine, the Imperial College of Science, and the School of Oriental Studies, he could not but recognise how the merchants of London had always known not only how to create wealth, but also how best to use it for the furtherance of great public purposes. It was an example which his countrymen were trying to follow in ever-increasing measure. Even after the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, the City of London continued to exercise a potent influence on the financial and commercial development of India. Nor had the City been active only in finance and business. She had often afforded generous help to India in her periods of disturbance, of famine and of pestilence. The world-wide charity of the Mansion House had called forth the blessings of many an Indian home on these generous men who, in their abundance, had ever remembered the poor and the needy of every country and every race. India had given abundant proof of her devotion to the person and throne of the King-Emperor, and her attachment and royalty to the Empire, of which the Sovereign was the visible embodiment. She had given all that was asked of her in the past, and she was ready to give all she might be permitted to give in the future for the successful prosecution of the war. It was his earnest hope that in the eventful future, when by common sufferings, willingly made, and by common

sacrifices, the common enemy had been successfully defeated, India might continue to count upon the sympathy and goodwill of the City of London in the achievement of that programme of commercial and industrial, social and political development which she was determined, and indeed destined, to accomplish. (Cheers.)

# SPEECH AT THE RULING CHIEFS' BANQUET

*The Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled at Delhi gave a Banquet in honour of the three representatives from India at the Imperial Conference, H. H. The Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir S. P. Sinha, and Sir James Meston, on November 8th, 1917. Sir S. P. Sinha spoke as follows:—*

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—So deeply do I appreciate the great honour done to me this evening that I find it difficult to express it adequately. Notwithstanding the very kind terms in which your Excellency and your Highness the Maharaja of Patiala have referred to me, I cannot but feel that the honour done to me this evening is not in any sense personal. I feel that it is intended to commemorate the definite and irrevocable admission of India into the great partnership of the British Empire. An assembly of many of the rulers of more than a third part of this vast country, presided over by the Viceroy representing our beloved Sovereign, is obviously emblematic of future States of India, bound by indissoluble links to each other and to the Imperial Commonwealth of which they will be as much component parts as England or Scotland. I venture to think that the

guests of this evening similarly symbolise the India of the future, where princes and peoples, Indians and Englishmen, officials and non-officials will combine to form a powerful nation, jealous of its own rights, but even more tenacious of the rights of that greater nation, that larger commonwealth to which it will be their equal privilege to belong. My Lord, we in British India are proud of the glorious part which the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India have taken in the present war. Their unstinted support of England in men, money and materials has been generously acknowledged on all sides. They have stimulated our own efforts in the same direction, and it is our earnest hope and belief that both the princes and people of India will continue to give the same unstinted support and concentrate all their efforts to the unfinished task that still lies before us, in assuring through victory the defence of the Empire and the vindication of the world's liberties. My Lord, you and His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala have been pleased to refer to the services which I, in conjunction with my colleagues, endeavoured to render to our King and our country. I can say without affectation that I am painfully conscious of not having done as much as many more gifted countrymen of mine would have done, had it fallen to their lot to play the part that was assigned to me; but, my Lord, I did what I could in however small a way to interpret to the members of the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet the

feelings and sentiments of my countrymen, and I am happy to know that your Excellency thinks that I was not altogether unsuccessful. One must remember the nature of the meetings in which it was our privilege to take part. It was a War Conference, a War Cabinet of the Empire summoned for definite and specific purposes. We were there more to receive than to give information, and principally as to the immediate needs and necessities of the War. Nevertheless, we were free to express our opinions on all matters under discussion, and on all occasions when we felt it was necessary to express our views, we were given as patient and as courteous a hearing as any of the great statesmen, who took part in those memorable meetings. There were a few matters specially and intimately concerning India which came before the Conference, and I think we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the results. One was the resolution by which the Conference recommends to the Dominions overseas that a resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907 excluding India should be rescinded, and that India should hereafter be represented at every future Conference. Another was the resolution accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between the Dominions and India and recommending our claims for favourable consideration by the Governments concerned. There has been some criticism that neither of those resolutions is productive of any practical benefit to India. I am unable to admit either the force or the justice of such criticism. It

is true that neither of these resolutions affects the internal constitution of the Government of India, but was it possible or desirable that the Conference should deal with that? Would I have been reasonable to ask that the Dominions should concede to India what they have not conceded even to England herself, the right of free and unrestricted Immigration? It is a concession which they cannot make without giving up the right, the fundamental right, of every governing country to determine the character and composition of its own population. I could not insist on unlimited numbers of my countrymen, having the right to settle in Canada or Australia, because I could not with equanimity contemplate similar settlements, say, of our English subjects in Kashmir or our Negro fellow subjects in the plains of the Bengal. If I was in error in not insisting upon this extraordinary commission, I was at least in good company, for Mr. Gokhale, than whom India has had no greater patriot in recent times, had, a few years before, expressly repudiated any such claim on behalf of India. My Lord, our relations in the past with many of the Dominions and Colonies have not been happy, and I think they themselves would not deny that their treatment of our countrymen has been sometimes worse than inhospitable. On the other hand, we in India have not always discriminated between the different Dominions and Colonies.

Our causes of complaint against them are not the same in every case. Some of them want our labour,

others do not, and their treatment of our emigrants varies accordingly. We have, therefore, distinct grievances against different Colonies, though we are inclined to lump them all, against the Dominions generally. I do not, however, desire to dwell on them, nor am I able to assert that our grievances in these respects have all been removed. To expect that would be to expect a miracle, of which the age is long since passed, but I venture to claim that the resolution in question clears the atmosphere, and indicates a disposition to remedy these wrongs as far and as soon as possible. We considered it the part of prudence to be content with such a notable advance, and to leave the rest to time and to a growing feeling of solidarity, which the war has unquestionably engendered, and a debate in the Canadian House of Commons on the 18th May last in which both Sir Robert Borden and Wilford Laurier dealt with the resolution in question, shows that we were right.

The third and perhaps the most important result of our delegation was the announcement made by Mr. Lloyd George that annually, and if necessary oftener, there should assemble in London an Imperial Cabinet, in which, while the Secretary of State for India would sit as member of the British Cabinet, there would be a separate representative for the Government of India. It is difficult to realise the far-reaching effect of this change, announced at the end of the sittings by the Prime Minister as the unanimous decision of the British regarding

constitutional development in the immediate future, and I know there has been some adverse criticism even of this on the basis that such a representative will be only a nominee of the Government of India. But what else can he be? What else are the Prime Ministers of Canada, of New Foundland, of Australia, or New Zealand or South Africa, but the delegates of their respective Governments? True, each of these countries possesses responsible Governments, whereas India does not do at present, but would these critics prefer that India should not take part in the Conference until she became completely Self-Governing or did they expect that after our eight weeks' stay in England we would bring back in our pockets an ordinance making India a completely Self-Governing country at one bound? So far as I know, no one in India has even now asked for such a catastrophic change. I claim that this step brings India as nearly as possible to the same position as the Self-Governing Dominions with reference to the mother-country. When and as soon as India reaches the goal, recently announced as logical sequence of the steps previously taken, her representative in the Imperial Cabinet will be a delegate in the same manner and by the same process as the representatives of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Foundland and New Zealand, but till then, we may be content that the Government of India should avail themselves of the best available means for adequate representation of the country, which it governs. An unwise choice

may be made in some instances, but sooner or later the right man will be chosen, for it is impossible to conceive that the Government of India should deliberately choose a man likely to betray the interests of the country, he is sent to represent.

My Lord, now that I have mentioned the recent memorable announcement of the British Cabinet, representing all political parties, I cannot refrain from making an appeal to all sections of the community loyally to co-operate in devising the means, whereby that policy can be given effect to. The question of how to adjust a continuous progress towards Self-Government with the welfare of all peoples not only in India itself, but of the rest of the Commonwealth, is perhaps the most difficult of all the problems, which confront us. The solution of it will be found only in so far as we keep resolutely in front of our eyes, the welfare of the whole of the Indian people, continue to remember the responsibilities as well as the rights, which liberty carries in its train, and if the British people in India and elsewhere remember the Commonwealth is to promote the development of all its members, a way will surely be found. I venture to remind both sides to the controversy, which has unhappily arisen, that nothing can prejudice the solution of the problem so much as an uncompromising attitude or an intemperate language. I am sure that a natural understanding would easily result, if representatives on both sides agree and discuss the matter supon which they are supposed to differ with a view to an agreement, and

then both sides would probably find that the matters, upon which they agree, are more important than the matters upon which they differ. Both sides should freely and frankly accept the policy announced entirely, and so much of it only as suits either sides, and both should recognise that no change can be accepted that might endanger the preservation of law and order. My Lord, I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude for the cordial reception we met with England from all quarters. The King-Emperor, besides taking a keen and personal interest in the proceedings of the Conference in their special relation to India, was graciously pleased to treat each one of us with great kindness. The British and Colonial Statesmen vied with one another in the courtesy and consideration they extended to us, and as for the Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, I find it difficult to find words to express my gratitude for the courteous help and guidance we received from him. If India ever comes to know the full extent of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's services to her cause, I am sure she would remember them. Without offending the modesty of former colleagues, I should express my gratitude to them also for the encouragement and assistance I received at their hands. Invested with splendid traditions of race and ancestry, and united to the British Crown by ties of fealty and devotion, strikingly manifested by his personal services during the War, the Maharaja of Bikanir added both dignity and wisdom to the Indian representation. Sir

James Meston's complete identification with the land of his adoption, his experience of administration and his powerful and well-informed advocacy of her interests was a source of strength that India has reason to remember with lasting gratitude, and now, My Lord, I must conclude by thanking your Excellency and your Highnesses again and again for your great kindness this evening.

## SOCIAL SERVICE

*In opening the Social Service Exhibition at the Calcutta University Institute in December,* 1917, *Sir S. P. Sinha said:—*

I think one of the most hopeful signs of the present time is the universal desire—and the earnest desire—on the part of all classes amongst us, and particularly of our young men, to do as much of social service as is possible for them. I think it is time that steps were taken to direct this enthusiasm so that it may bear fruit. I need hardly remind you that, so far as anything is worth doing, it is necessary to study how it ought to be done, and the utility of this exhibition is to teach us, and every one of us, how we can direct our energies for the purpose of performing these acts of social service which we are all so anxious and eager to perform. I need hardly say that the field for social service, wide as it is in other countries, is literally not limited in our own. When we remember that millions of our countrymen live and die on the borderland of destitution, that hundreds of thousands of them die through preventible diseases, that hundreds of thousands of children in Bengal alone, not to speak of India, well nigh starve and perish of dirt and diseases and of ignorant

handling—when we think of these things—who is there amongst us but can help feeling that life is not worth living if we do not, each one of us, strive our utmost to prevent these things which ought not to be? Believe me there is not the least amongst us who is not capable of doing a very great deal towards this munificent and benevolent work. If we cannot do anything else, each one of us can go and sweep the dirty floors, each one of us can go to the bustees, the slums of Calcutta, and wash the dirty clothes which are sources of disease and infection to millions of the people both in Calcutta and outside Calcutta. Therefore I beg of you to remember that, however great the task may be, each one of you is able to help, and help considerably, not merely by money, because that to my mind is the least thing in the matter, but by your own personal work. The most menial service becomes high and noble when it is performed as a matter of love, and if you, my young friends, are able to take that upon yourself, by organising yourself for the purpose of helping those who are always with us and around us, the poor, the lowly, and the destitute and suffering, your lives will all the more be noble. You yourself will fulfil the purpose for which you have come to this country, and I am sure at the end of the day each one of you will feel that, whatever else you might have done, you have not lived in vain. After many years of life I feel how little I have myself done, and how vast is the task that remains unperformed.

I hope that my young friends here will profit by the example of an older man, who regrets towards the end of his life that he did not learn when he was young, that the object and aim of life is not to prosper for oneself, but to see that others are happy. I trust that the exhibition which is about to be opened will be a source of inspiration to thousands amongst us, that it will help to direct a vague desire towards beneficent channels, and that it will teach us practically what we can do to make the lives of our humbler and poorer brothers happier in every respect.

## ADDRESS TO SIBPUR COLLEGE

*The distribution of prizes and medals to the successful students of the Civil Engineering College at Sibpur took place on February 28, 1918, in the College hall. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay was unavoidably absent and the Honourable Sir S. P. Sinha presided. Among those present were many Europeans and Indians representing the Engineering firms of Calcutta and Howrah. Mr. Heaton, Principal of the College, having read the annual report, Sir S. P. Sinha who gave away the prizes said :—*

Mr. Heaton has very clearly told us the good work that is being done in the college and also the creditable part that has been taken both by the teachers and the students of this college in giving such help as they can towards the successful .persecution of the great war that is in progress. To us all, it will be a source of great pleasure to hear that men who are being trained, or have been trained more and afterwards employed in the Public Works Department and other services, may find remunerative careers for themselves in other parts of the Empire, and particularly so long as the war lasts in the theatres of the war, enabling them to do their part

towards its successful prosecution. I have no doubt that Mr. Heaton's surmise is correct that the men so employed will be likely to obtain preferential employment from patriotic employers on their return to civil life. It is but meet that we should to-day dwell upon the great part which this college occupies, and the still greater part which it is certain to occupy in the near future in the national life of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam and even Burma. Until the middle of the 18th century, military engineers were the only ones to whom the title of engineers was applied. Since that time, a new class of engineers has arisen known as civil engineers who concern themselves with works, which, though they are in some cases as in the making of roads and railways of the same character as those undertaken by military engineers, are neither exclusively military in purpose nor executed by soldiers. It is the aim and object of this college to train this class of engineers. No better definition of their aims and functions can be given than that which is contained in the Charter, dated 1828, of the Institution of Civil Engineers, London, where civil engineering is described as the art of directing the great sources of power in nature for the use and convenience of man as the means of production and traffic in States both for external and internal trade as applied in the construction of roads, bridges, canals, river navigation and docks for international intercourse and exchange and in the construction of ports, harbours, break-waters and light-houses and in the

art of navigation by artificial power for the purpose of commerce, and in the construction and adoption of machinery and in the drainage of cities and towns. This enumeration is so wide that specialisation was bound to set in, as it did in fact, before the end of the 19th century. Perhaps the first branch to be recognised as separate was *mechanical* engineering, which is concerned with steam engines. machine tools, mill-work and manufacturing machinery in general, and this was soon followed by mining engineering which deals with the location and working of coal, ore and other minerals. Subsequently, numerous other more or less strictly dividing groups and sub-divisions came into existence such as naval architecture dealing with the design of ships, marine engineering with the engines for propelling steamers, *sanitary* engineering with water-supply, drainage and the disposal of sewerage and other refuse, gas engineering with the manufacture and distribution of illuminating gas and chemical engineering with the design and erection of the plant required for the manufacture of such chemical products as alkali acids and dyes and for the working of a wide range of industrial processes. The last great new branch is electrical engineering, which touches on the older branches at so many points that it has been said that all engineers must be electricians.

When we remember that modern civilization consists principally in directing the great sources of power in nature for the use and convenience of man,

we cannot fail to see the great part which engineering, as above described, has played in the past and is destined to play in the future in the progress and development of civilization. And nowhere is there greater scope for engineers than in this vast continent of India. I cannot but refer to what has already been done in India itself by engineers. The great railways and canals and telegraph lines, which are amongst the principal benefits which have accrued to India during British rule, would have been impossible but for the engineering genius of men who have all toiled, often in obscurity, for the benefit not only of capital and labour but of the people at large. I remember reading in a speech delivered a few years ago at a meeting of the Society of Mechanical Engineers in Calcutta a claim put forward that most, if not all, of the material benefits directly due to British rule have been brought about by the labours of engineers. There is good foundation for this claim, and it must ever be a source of inspiration to all past and present students of this college if they bear in mind that they and others situated like themselves are among the principal instruments for the material and intellectual progress of India, with which her moral progress is necessarily connected.

Mr. Heaton has referred to various schemes for the expansion of this college. I am in entire sympathy with him, and whether this college remains on its present site or whether it is removed elsewhere, I am certain that in the near future such

expansion is imperative and indeed inevitable, and I share Mr. Heaton's hope that the deliberations of the Industrial Commission and the Calcutta University Commission will enable the Government to come to a speedy decision as to the nature and direction of such expansion. I am glad that Mr. Heaton's idea of the healthiness of Sibpur is no longer the same, if it ever was the same, as that of the late Director-General of Education, to whom the chief features of this place appeared to be 'smells and mosquitoes.' This question of site has been the subject of considerable discussion, and in a debate which took place in the local Legislative Council four years ago, on a resolution moved by the Hon'ble Babu S. N. Roy, the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon stated on behalf of the Government, that the question whether the college should be retained at Sibpur or not could not be finally settled until after the report of the Public Services Commission had been dealt with finally. There the matter remains for the present. The future is full of promise for the students of Sibpur if they bear in mind the invaluable advice which my friend, Sir R. N. Mukerji, offered to them two years ago, when he presided over the same ceremony, and in particular his advice that they should not hesitate either to do manual work or to begin their careers at the lowest rung of the ladder. Remember too his advice that, though you should justly be proud of your University degrees and college diplomas, you should regard them only as passports entitling you to enter

into the arena of engineering and that it can only be after years of careful study and hard work and practical experience that you can claim to be regarded as expert engineers. This is true of all professions—law or medicine or engineering. There is a great future in store for you. Much of the future development of India depends principally upon you and others like you, and I pray that health and knowledge and guidance may be vouchsafed to you in an ever-increasing measure, so that you may further the cause of the country in particular and of the Empire in general.

# VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL

*At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council on the 4th April, 1918, the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha moved for leave to introduce a Bill to extend Village Self-Government in Bengal. He said:—*

The introduction of the Bill I now lay before this Council marks a most important advance in local self-government in this Presidency.

To some of us, whose minds are engrossed with speculations on self-government in a wider sphere, this event may seem of small significance, but for my part, I am convinced that this attempt to make the villager a vital link in our system of Government is an experiment of supreme importance and fraught with the promise of most beneficial and far-reaching results.

It is because of this belief that I desire, before discussing the provisions of the Village Self-Government Bill, to sketch briefly the genesis and development of its underlying principles, to touch on the evils it is designed to cure, and to suggest the promise of progress, which it bears within it.

Many competent observers have deplored the ever-increasing gap which separates the Government of Bengal from the village population, forming some 90 per cent. of the people over which it rules,

and few will differ from the dictum of Sir George Campbell that 'the task of really governing India down to the villages and the people is too great for the British Government.'

The stir of ideas in England in the Seventies which led to an elaborate overhauling of the system and machinery of local government did not pass unnoticed in India, and it was not strange that Sir George Campbell's penetrating judgment led him to regard the resuscitation of local authorities or institutions as the only feasible means for making good those gaps and defects in the administration, which were so patent to his fresh and vigorous mind.

The ancient institution of village watchmen had fallen greatly into decadence and the new system of village police, which the Chaukidari Act of 1870 had introduced, had not yet proved itself. The Lieutenant-Governor had again been 'repeatedly struck by the great want of drinking water in many Bengal villages and by the efforts of the people to obtain it and by their not unfrequently expressed readiness to contribute to its cost.'

It was in 1870 also that the English legislature recognized the obligation on the State to provide elementary education and Sir George Campbell was of opinion that 'many villages might be willing to co-operate with Government to re-establish that ancient indigenous institution of Hindu villages, the *guru* or village schoolmaster.' The necessity of taking measures for the better sanitation of villages was also recognized by him.

With the more advanced system of local self-government in towns, which already existed in 1870 and which Sir George Campbell desired to elaborate and extend, it is unnecessary for me to deal; we are now concerned with a measure designed, as I have already stated, to bring the villager into the system of Government. I need hardly point out that the division of the labour of administration between the State and local authorities is not a clean-cut or uniform division; it varies in important matters in different countries. But the history of communal institutions in India very clearly points to two spheres of activity, in which the use of local authorities seems essential to efficiency and progress—I refer to the village watch and ward and to the exercise of municipal functions in rural areas.

I will deal first with the village watch and ward, and I trust that I shall succeed in commending to your approval the changes contemplated by this Bill. The maintenance of the ancient village watch rarely ceased during the last century to be an object of solicitude to the Government of Bengal.

Lord Hastings in 1815 described it as 'the foundation of all possible police in this country.' Sir Thomas Munro in 1824 protested strongly against its absorption into the regular police system, and the Police Commission of 1902-03 declared that it was necessary to Government, and also necessary from the point of view of the people. The Village Chaukidari Act (VI of 1870) re-affirmed the principle which previous Acts had embodied. What I may

term the 'municipalisation' of the village police, *i.e.*, its recognition as a village institution, supported by, and responsible to, the village community.

The 'Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Chaukidari Act' declares that 'the provisions of the Bill, while maintaining the responsibility of all landlords to report crime, are based upon principles which have been recognised as applicable to these Provinces: first, that it is just and expedient that the people at large should pay for their own protection; and, secondly, that it is the duty and policy of the Government to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people themselves.'

The *panchayet* were empowered to fix the number and the wages of the watchmen, they assessed and collected the necessary funds, and they had power to appoint and dismiss watchmen. The Act did not prove a success; the villagers were reluctant to serve on the *panchayet* and their assessments were often inequitable. How far the unpopularity of a *punchayeti* work was due to the growing interference of the police and how far such interference was necessary in the interests of efficiency, we need not consider, but Act I (B.C.) of 1886 tended to discountenance the village municipal system, while Act I (B.C.) of 1892 transferred to the Magistrate the power of fixing the number and salary of the chaukidars and what was more important the power of appointing, dismissing and punishing them.

'The municipal theory, however,' in the words

of the District Administration Committee's report, 'although for the most part ignored, has never been abandoned,' and the President system introduced in 1905 'was designed with the object of freeing the *panchayets* from police influence and of emphasising the essential character of the chaukidar as a village servant, while leaving him subject to the control of the Magistrate and the police in regard to his police duties.'

Some officers have since advocated the complete departmentalization of the chaukidar, with the corollary that he should be paid from provincial revenues and the proceeds of the present chaukidari tax diverted to purely village purposes.

This proposal, however attractive, is not financially possible, and the evolution of the village watch in other provinces, where the communal principle has real vitality, suggests that it is still possible and advantageous to retain in Bengal a close association and inter-dependence between the village community and the village watch.

The salient feature of the present Bill is the combination or amalgamation of the *panchayet* and the Union Committee. If we succeed in breathing life into the village communal authority, we may confidently anticipate that the intimate local knowledge which this authority will possess will render the rural police a more efficient power for the detection and prevention of crime than is at present the case.

I come now to the exercise of municipal functions in rural areas. I confess I feel a sense of disappoint-

ment with the exiguous results in rural sanitation which the last 50 years has produced in Bengal. There has been no want of anxious thought and earnest endeavour on the part of Government; the problem has been clearly visualized for many years, its paramount importance freely acknowledged and remedies suggested and carefully discussed. Money, or rather the want of it, has been the great stumbling block.

As Sir George Campbell pointed out in 1871, there was some inequality in the provincial assignments made under Lord Mayo's scheme of financial decentralization. But apart from that there were already at the time, in every other province, large revenues raised for local purposes; heavy cesses in addition to the land revenue being levied on the land for local roads, local police and popular education.

In Bengal, the funds raised locally for roads and bridges were confined to the receipts from tolls on roads, ferries and canals. Local funds have since grown—the District Board revenues and the income of municipalities—but the improvement of rural areas is still blocked by a want of funds. In strong contrast is the system in Madras, where in 1913-14, 393 Union *Panchayets* spent nearly 94 lakhs of rupees, of which only Rs. 64,000 came in grants from the District and Taluk Boards. Over 74 lakhs was raised by the house-tax; and over Rs. 6 lakhs were expended on conservancy, street-lighting and sanitary measures.

Now we have nothing like that in Bengal; thus in

1912-13, 61 Union Committees were able to raise only about Rs. 3,600 by local taxation. Nevertheless there is proof of the growing sense of the Union Committees' power for good in the fact that in 1916-17, 67 Committees raised Rs. 39,801 by local taxation.

The financial problem has always in Bengal barred the path to progress; but if Bengal is to become "civilized" in the modern sense, if the ordinary amenities of life are to be available to all—I will go further, if the evils which menace health and life itself are to be overcome—we must by some means or other surmount the financial difficulties, which have always hemmed us in. On the need of rural sanitation I need say little. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (Volume IV, page 468) does not exaggerate when it describes the general sanitary condition of Indian villages in the following words:—

"The village house is still often ill-ventilated and over-populated; the village site dirty, crowded with cattle, choked with rank vegetation, and poisoned by stagnant pools; and the village tanks polluted and used indiscriminately for bathing, cooking and drinking."

We have our Sanitary Commissioner, whose post was created with best intentions and high hopes in 1864, but unless we can give him an agency to carry out reforms, his expert advice must lose half its value. Government may frame model rules of village hygiene, but in the absence of machinery—a large executive agency—they remain a dead letter.

This problem can only be attacked, if we organize the people, and they can only be organized for public work by the will and with the sympathetic encouragement of Government.

As Mr. Carstairs, who took great interest in local self-government, said some years ago (and his dictum is perhaps still true): "Without the people the Government *can* do nothing; without the Government the people *will* do nothing." No one will contend that Government can administer the innumerable villages of Bengal in all the details of their internal economy except with the help of the people themselves, and those who are conversant with the history of Union Committees in the last ten years will agree with the District Administration Committee that for several years to come the success of representative village institutions must depend in some measure on the sympathetic guidance they receive from Government officers.

I have indicated two directions in which the co-operation of the village community is required for the amelioration of the conditions under which it lives. But there is yet a third branch of administration, in which we believe that the rural population can, with advantage to itself and to Government, participate more actively in the management of its own affairs.

I refer to the administration of justice. I realise that it is this portion of the Bill which lends itself most readily to criticism, and I look forward eagerly helpful constructive criticism enabling us to sim-

plify the procedure and popularise the administration of justice in rural areas.

At this stage I shall content myself with a few general observations indicating the motives which have influenced Government in its decision to revive the old village Courts.

The Council is aware that the Decentralization Commission recommended that *panchayets* should be given civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases arising within the village; the Indian Police Commission of 1902-03 had made a similar suggestion in respect of petty criminal cases, and village Courts created by the legislature have for many years been in active operation in other provinces. Now we are well aware that the present system of justice is not an ideal one from the point of view of the villager. In his petty civil disputes, the proceedings are usually costly, slow and harassing. In criminal cases, the tribunals are often too remote, remands are frequent and the production of witnesses a costly and troublesome business. But the Decentralization Commission did not intend that the village Courts should merely afford relief to the regular tribunals or give petty litigants the opportunity of settling their disputes by a simple and inexpensive procedure near their homes; the main purpose of these Courts is in the words of the District Administration Committee to be "educative to develop the sense of communal responsibility within the Union, and to teach the people to manage the affairs of their own villages. At the

same time it was hoped that the creation of these village Courts would enhance the influence of the *panchayets* and strengthen and encourage them in the performance of their other duties, thus gradually paving the way to the exercise by them of higher powers."

And here let me state more generally that, in the experiment which I am describing to you to-day, Government is influenced by two main motives, of which one derives from self-interest, while the other may be termed altruistic.

As I have already suggested, the administration of Bengal, so to speak down to the ground, is too great a task for any centralized Government, and the co-operation of the people is essential for advance.

But if I were not convinced that there was another mainspring to this legislation, I should feel at any rate less pleasure and confidence in introducing the Bill than is now the case.

What we hope is that this experiment will give free play to a new motive power in Bengal—the interest and influence of the rural population in, and on, the management of their own affairs. If we can evoke that interest and engage that influence in the system of Government, I believe we may tap enormous reserves of energy, commonsense and natural shrewdness, and lay well and truly a foundation on which the superstructure of the future may securely rest.

But I have dealt at sufficient length with the underlying principles of the Bill and before turning

to its provisions, I wish briefly to sketch the history of Union Committees in this Presidency since 1885.

It is an open secret that the Local Self-Government Act of 1885 as first drafted, in accordance with Lord Ripon's memorable resolution of 1882, contemplated the creation of a net-work of Union Committees throughout Bengal as the basis of local self-government. They were to be the successors of the old simple type of petty municipality, known as Municipal Unions of which there were fifty-four in Bengal, when this type of local authority was abolished by the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884. By way of anticipation, Mr. Westmacott was placed in 1883 on special duty to prepare the way for the introduction of the new law, and he actually formed 180 unions in seven sub-divisions of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and in the sub-division of Munshiganj in Dacca.

Local Boards ordinarily conterminous with the sub-division were to control the Union Committees, which were to be elected by the villagers themselves, and to be entrusted with the management of primary schools and pounds within the Union and of its roads, water-supply and village conservancy. Above the Local Boards, with general powers of control but not of administration, was to be the Central Board—a paid body sitting in Calcutta, [illegible] resembling the Local Government Board in England.

In this scheme, there was no place for the District Board. But the Bill as finally framed entirely transformed this scheme of local self-government;

The District Board replaced the Central Board, but became the real unit of administration instead of a Committee of Control; the Local Board became the mere dependant of the District Board, subsisting by its charity, while the Union Committees—in the words of the District Administration Committee—became "merely optical appendages of the superior bodies."

In fact, local self-government was begun at the top instead of from the bottom.

As we all know, the District Board became fairly efficient bodies, but the Local Boards starved and suffered from anæmia and Union Committees were still-born. In 1904, there were 58 such Committees, disposing of Rs. 18,000; they had raised only Rs. 339 by local contributions since the date of their creation.

Act V of 1908 made some important amendments in the Local Self-Government Act of 1885; but little use was made of these enlarged powers.

In the last few years an effort has been made to vitalize these bodies with, I am glad to say, some considerable success.

In 1916-17, there were 156 Union Committees, which last year spent Rs. 1½ lakhs, including about Rs. ½ lakh raised by local taxation. At the end of 1917 there were 198 Unions. There are exceptions, but on the whole these Committees are showing that practical good sense and closeness to the life of the people, which gave the ancient village communal institution their vital force and their authority.

In connection with the recent advance made by Union Committees, I may refer to the fact that much useful spade-work has been done in preparing the way for their fusion with chaukidari *panchayets.*

New Union Committees have been given a jurisdiction co-extensive with that of chaukidari unions, and so far as practicable the *personnel* of the chaukidari *panchayet* and the Union Committee has been made identical. There is no reason to anticipate any friction or difficulty in developing the existing Union Committees into the Village Committees to be constituted under the Bill.

The object of the Bill is to build up a system of self-government from the bottom by the creation of village authorities, vested with the powers and duties necessary for the management of communal village affairs and entrusted with powers of self-taxation necessary for the purpose.

The new Village Committee, as the village authority will be called, will be constituted on an election basis, not less than two-thirds of the members being elected. It will elect its own Chairman, will exercise a general control over the dafadars and chaukidars of the village, and will be vested with power to provide for village sanitation, conservancy and drainage, to deal with the erection of buildings, water-supply, village roads and bridges and to manage primary schools and dispensaries. It is also proposed to give power to Government to confer jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal matters on all or any members of the Village Committee,

the tribunals which it may constitute for the trial of criminal cases being designated Village Benches and those constituted for the trial of civil suits Village Courts. The Committee will be grouped in Circles under Circle Boards. The chief work of the Circle Board will be to superintend the working of the Village Committees in the Circle and, subject to the direction of the District Board, to distribute any general grants made to them by that body. It may further, at the request of the District Board, supervise the management of any institution and the execution of any work or the performance of any duty entrusted by the District Board to any Village Committee within its circle. On the constitution of Village Committee and Circle Boards in any district the existing chaukidari *panchayets*, Union Committees and Local Boards established under the Bengal Chaukidari and Local Self-Government Acts will be abolished.

I may state that it is intended that the new system should be introduced gradually in districts where the Circle System has been introduced and Circle Officers are available to assist the Village Committees. The number of Circle Officers is at present limited, but, as I recently informed the Council, it is hoped to increase it very largely, so that we may have Circle Officers in every district. The Committees will, as proposed by the District Administration Committees, be grouped in Circles under Circle Boards, on which they will be represented. The chief work of the Circle Boards

will consist in supervising their operations and co-ordinating their plans, and in seeing that different Village Committees have fair treatment in the distribution of grants given by the District Board to a Circle. The Circle Boards will form an important electoral agency for the District Boards, and the basis of the elective system will be broadened, as the Local Board constituted for each sub-division will be replaced by a number of Circle Boards constituted for different parts of the sub-division.

It is, I think, unnecessary for me to refer in much detail to the clauses of the Bill which are clearly summarised in the statement placed in the hands of Hon'ble Members.

I may refer first to the definition of "village," which will actually be a group of villages, united under one jurisdiction and coinciding with the chaukidari union. Not less than two-thirds of the six to nine members, of which the Village Committee will consist, is to be elected, subject to the District Magistrate's approval. The Municipal powers of the Committee will correspond generally with those already vested in Union Committees, but are somewhat wider in their scope.

In reproducing the relevant sections of the Chaukidari Act, the opportunity has been taken to eliminate some unpopular provisions, in particular the personal responsibility of the members of the *panchayet* for the salary of the chaukidars.

In addition to grants made by the District Boards,

the Committee will administer the village rate reserved for the execution of works and the compulsory chaukidari tax, of which a portion can be devoted to the pay and equipment of the dafadars and chaukidars and to the salary of a Secretary and also to the execution of works of public utility.

The Committee will fix its assessment according to circumstances and property, but subject to revision by the District Magistrate.

The provisions regulating the exercise of judicial powers by the Committee will be permissive and the ordinary courts will have concurrent jurisdiction.

It will be possible to constitute individual members as a village tribunal for the trial either of petty civil or of petty criminal cases or both, or if experience shows that the whole Village Committee may safely be entrusted with such powers, they may all serve on the tribunal.

In the case of civil jurisdiction, moreover, it is proposed that the Local Government should have power to confer judicial powers by instalments, so that the Village Courts may begin by trying the simplest kinds of suits, their jurisdiction being extended according to the measure of success obtained. As recommended by the Decentralization Commission, the procedure will be simple; parties will generally appear in person, legal practitioners being debarred from appearing for clients; appeals will not be allowed, but in the case of criminal trials the Sub-Divisional Magistrate or the District Magistrate, where there is no Sub-Divisional Magistrate, and in

the case of civil suits the District Judge may order a re-trial if there is a serious failure of justice.

The primary function of the Circle Board will be to superintend the work of the Village Committees and subject to the direction of the District Board to distribute any general grants made by that body. It is important to remember that it will be a supervising, and in no sense an executive, agency like the present Local Boards. The Civil Board will consist of fifteen members, of whom ten are to be elected and five appointed by the Commissioner, and a Chairman will be elected by the members from among their number.

The Bill gives the Divisional Commissioner specific powers of control over the Circle Boards and the District Magistrate will occupy a similar position as regards the Village Committees.

These officers may, *e.g.*, provide for the performance of duties in which the local bodies may make default, and may supersede them in case of incompetency or wilful neglect. They may also suspend the execution of orders and resolutions, and the District Magistrate may in cases of emergency provide for the execution of works required for the public service or safety.

The Bill will now be published and circulated for criticism. I have already said that Government welcomes constructive criticism. Let there be no suspicion that there is in any quarter any desire to thwart the beneficent intentions of Government to foster and develop local self-government. Both

efficiency and economy demand that the municipal functions of Government should be performed by the people themselves and that this is the only means of making the people self-reliant, public-spirited and imbued with the highest sense of civic responsibility. I have the fullest confidence in the capacity of the Indian peasant. In the words of Sir H. Risley, the Indian peasant is no fool. He has his limitation like his class all over the world, but within the range of his knowledge and within the compass of his own village, he is just as shrewd a person as one could wish to meet. Comparing him with the English rustic of the counties, he was much inclined to think that the Indian was the sharper of the two.

The want of funds, hitherto such a formidable obstacle in the way of rural progress, has to a great extent been mitigated by the surrender of the Public Workers Cess to the District Boards. The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Ray considers these 29 lakhs sufficient for water-supply, village sanitation and for the purpose of combating malaria. In any case, people are increasingly willing to tax themselves, if they know how the money is spent.

The future is full of hope and promise, but if local self-government is to be a success, it will only be by the consistent co-operation of the Government and the people. Let us determine that it shall be a success, and I am sure it will be so.

# EDUCATION AND SANITATION IN BENGAL

*The Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha, who was in charge of the Departments of Education and Sanitation in the Government of Bengal, made the following speech in the course of the Budget discussions in the Bengal Legislative Council on April* 4, 1918 :—

My Lord, it devolves upon me to deal with such criticisms as have fallen from Hon'ble Members with regard to the Departments of Education and Sanitation which are in my charge and I think the surest way in which I can deal with them is to take first the general criticism with regard to education and sanitation; then deal with such specific matters to which attention has been drawn by individual Members, and, thirdly, to deal with some matters which, though not referred to specifically, are referred to more or less in general terms, and I am classifying the subjects under these three heads.

My Lord, two charges that have been repeated by several Members with regard to education and sanitation are that in the Revised Estimates we have shown savings which actually mean loss; that is to say, the monies allotted, which ought to have

been spent, have not been spent with regard to such important matters as education and sanitation. But I think I shall be able to satisfy the Council without much trouble that it proceeds from a misconception. If Hon'ble Members will turn to page 21, dealing with the charges under the head of Education, there are two matters which I think will be clear to them: *firstly*, that education, so far from being neglected, has been receiving increasing attention of Government. We have there the actuals of five years, 1912-13 to 1916-17, and then we have the Budgets for 1917-18 and 1918-19. The expenditure in 1912-13 was 73 lakhs and odd; next year it was 81 lakhs, that is, nearly 8 lakhs increase. Next year, that is the year before the war, it was 92 lakhs or an increase of 11 lakhs; then by reason of the war there was a drop in 1915-16, and we came down to 84 lakhs or very nearly 85 lakhs, that is 7 lakhs less than the previous year; then there was a further drop in 1916-17 to 76 lakhs for the same reason, namely, that we are not allowed to spend except for urgent and productive purposes; but it will be noticed that in 1917-18, it went up to 98 lakhs, exceeding the educational grant for any previous year. The Budget for 1918-19 is 103 lakhs. Therefore, it will be seen that, so far from education not being given its proper share of the public revenues, the money allotted to education has been increased by—I won't say leaps and bounds, but very substantial amounts during all this time and notwithstanding the war; I

think that is a point which is clear from this statement.

There is another general complaint about the allotments not having been spent, and that arises with regard to the year 1917-18. Although for that year, the original figures were 98,13,000 in the Revised Budget estimates they were reduced to 81,14,000 from which Members conclude that 17 lakhs, which were at our disposal and which ought to have been spent, had not been spent. I say that is due to a misconception; first of all, it is not correct to say that the 17 lakhs have not been spent. The figures represent the actuals for the first nine or ten months of the year and the estimates for the remaining two or three months. These estimates are based on the expenditure of the previous nine or ten months and do not take into account the fact that the expenditure during the last two or three months, so far as the average is concerned, is very much larger than during the previous eight or nine months. Therefore, it is not correct to assume that 17 lakhs remain unspent; actually, a great deal of that has been spent. But it is correct that some portion has not been spent and for the following reasons. This sum of 98 lakhs includes the 9 lakhs grant from the Imperial Government. We sent up a scheme to the Government of India for the expenditure of this 9 lakhs and the items are as follows. (Council will pardon my going into these details at a little length because a greater part of the charges is levelled against us with regard to this

unspent balance or savings therefrom). Now those 9 lakhs consisted of eleven items :—

| | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Cost of improving Government high schools.. | 3,00,000 |
| (2) | Cost of improving Government middle English schools. | 6,120 |
| (3) | Aid for Municipal high schools . ... | 12,072 |
| (4) | Grants for aided and unaided high and middle English schools. | 1,19,382 |
| (5) | Grant of local allowance to Assistant Head-masters of five vernacular training schools. | 1,200 |
| (6) | Honoraria of the teaching staff of three high schools for work in connection with the Dacca Training College. | 1,350 |
| (7) | Enhancement of pay of teachers of primary schools. | 1,94,000 |
| (8) | Enhancement of the pay of teachers in girls' primary schools. | 35,560 |
| (9) | Grant to the Midnapur District Board for an increase of the allowance of teachers of primary schools. | 15,000 |
| (10) | Inauguration of the scheme for training of teachers in boys' primary schools. | 1,55,440 |
| (11) | Construction of buildings for training shools for primary teachers. | 50,000 |

All these items make up 9 lakhs of rupees. It was not until October, 1917 that the Government of India sanctioned our spending about 2½ lakhs only out of these 9 lakhs, and with regard to the rest they told us that those items formed part of larger schemes which required the sanction of the Secretary of State and we were not, therefore, allowed to spend them. So, it is not correct to say that, having the money at our disposal, we have kept it in our cash box and not spent it for the purpose of

education. We have got a promise of 9 lakhs, and we are allowed to spend 2½ lakhs; with regard to the remainder, we are told that we must wait for the sanction of the Secretary of State for larger schemes. That disposes of the 6½ lakhs out of the 17 lakhs which was supposed not to have been spent.

Then there is another sum of Rs. 3,35,000, which also appears, as the Hon'ble Dr. Sarbadhikari has pointed out, as unspent out of the balance for hostels, etc. A good deal of it has been spent and all the bills have not come in yet and until they come in we cannot say how much has been spent out of it; probably, 2 lakhs will go from that. There will remain 2½ lakhs and that is due to the fact that the scheme which was expected to cost 13½ lakhs will cost about 12 or 12½ lakhs. Similarly, there are monies which appear in our Budget as savings not because we have not spent them but because they have been spent through the Public Works Department, so that the whole of this 17 lakhs which we are charged with not spending though at our disposal are not spent either because we are not allowed to spend them or because they were spent through the Public Works Department, or because the bills for the actual expenditure have not yet come in, though they will come in later. Therefore, the Council should be disabused of any impression they might be under that the money at the disposal of or in the coffers of Government and available for the purpose of education were not spent for that purpose.

I think the same can be said with regard to the supposed saving of 1½ lakhs in the matter of sanitation; that is not a saving at all, because, although it does not appear in our account, it appears in the account of the Public Works Department, as having been made over to the Public Works Department for the construction of sanitary works. Therefore, both with regard to education and sanitation, the Government have been spending more and more; and some Hon'ble Members have, I am glad to say, congratulated the Government on the increased expenditure on sanitation which has risen from less than 4 lakhs to 11½ lakhs in the present Budget.

These, I think, are the general complaints which were made with regard to matters of education and sanitation, and I now propose to deal with the specific complaints or recommendations which have been made by individual members in the matter of education.

The Hon'ble Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur charges us with not having come to the rescue or succour of the Mahakali Pathsala in Calcutta, which he says is likely to be financially ruined for want of such help. I think the charge is unfounded. Mr. Hornell, on the last occasion, promised that, if the Mahakali Pathsala authorities would apply to the Government for such help as they wanted in the matter of their building fund or anything else, that would receive the consideration of Government; and Council knows that that meant that the Maha-

kali Pathsala would have to satisfy the Education Department that they had complied with the rules which were made by that Department for the purpose of making grants-in-aid to schools. They would have to show certain amount of efficiency; and they would have to satisfy the Education Department in every way as to the necessity for the money. They never applied, presumably, because they did not expect to be able to satisfy the authorities as regards either the efficiency or the necessity. I venture to think that on these facts the Council will see that the Government have not unduly withheld help from a deserving institution for female education.

The Hon'ble Raja Hrishikesh Laha has recommended for assistance the Polytechnic Institution, over which Captain Petavel presides and which is assisted by the Hon'ble Maharaja of Cossimbazar. With regard to that also, I may say that the matter is under consideration of the Director of Public Instruction; and provided he is satisfied as to the necessity and the efficiency of the school, I have no doubt the aid will be forthcoming.

The Chittagong College and Hostel have been mentioned by the Hon'ble Khan Sahib Aman Ali. As regards that, I may state that, so far as the college authorities are concerned, there has not been, to my knowledge, any application for any increased grants; but the Director of Public Instruction hopes personally to visit the Chittagong College and to find out what is necessary. And the

Hon'ble Member may be sure that if it is found necessary to increase the college or hostel accommodation, steps will be taken to supply the want.

The Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Ray has mentioned that with regard to the Sibpur College there is a want of accommodation which prevents students applying for admission from getting admittance. Well as regards that, I have made enquiries since: by his courtesy, I got a copy of his speech from the Principal; and I find that though there have been more applicants than admissions, there has been no rejection so far on the ground of want of accommodation, and it is only on the ground of fitness that students have been rejected. I can assure the Hon'ble Member, however, that if, in fact, there is such a demand for engineering education and the accommodation in the Sibpur College is not sufficient to take in all these students, steps will be taken as early as possible to remedy such defect.

With regard to the Hon'ble Maulvi Abul Kasem's request for the proposed Burdwan School, I am sorry he did not send in any information to me with regard to this matter, or I should have made enquiries. Neither Mr. Wordsworth, the Director of Public Instruction, nor I have been able to find out anything about the proposed school, but I shall certainly look into this and see if anything can be done in the matter.

Now I come to the Hon'ble Rai Radha Charan Pal's criticisms with regard to various matters.

Taking the Hastings House School, I may tell the Hon'ble Member that the whole question of the organisation of the Hastings House School is under consideration. The object never was, so far as that school was concerned, that it should be merely a school for the sons of wealthy citizens. No doubt, the fees are high, but if you want a particular kind of education and a particular kind of accommodation, you have got to pay for them. That, again, is a matter which has to be considered with reference to the necessity of the people and how far they are able to pay for it. I personally think that the fee has been fixed probably a little too high and that if the school is to be made much more available for the general community, the fee will have to be reduced. But, as I have said, the whole matter is under consideration, and I trust that a scheme will be evolved which will make the school very much more useful. I may tell the Hon'ble Member that, so far from its being the intention that the poor should pay for the rich, the promoters of that school proposed that they should guarantee the expenses of the school—the whole of it if necessary—provided the control of the school was made over to them, but the Government did not agree to such a proposal. There is not likely to be any such loss, as my friend probably apprehends, because the number of students at Hastings House School now is certainly not much less than the school can accommodate; there is only accommodation for forty boys and there is about that number in the school.

There are two other matters which the Hon'ble Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur mentions: *firstly*, the question of primary schools in Calcutta; and *secondly*, perhaps it is not germane to this particular point—the question of the inclusion of Howrah in the operations of the Improvement Trust.

As regards the question of primary education in Calcutta, I think the Hon'ble Member probably forgot for the moment as to how the matter stands. The Calcutta Corporation, when asked as to what they were prepared to do to promote the educational organisation of Calcutta, said that they could not take the responsibility for the provision and maintenance of schools; but they would consider the possibility of undertaking a larger expenditure than they now incurred if there was a proper scheme made out for Calcutta schools. For that purpose, Mr. De first, afterwards Mr. Roy, and lastly Mr. Dunn were put on deputation and it is only two days ago that Mr. Dunn's final report reached the hands of the Director of Public Instruction suggesting what the educational needs of the different parts of Calcutta are and how they can be met. Now, it is from the nature of things impossible that Government can deal with that report or have any communication with the Corporation of Calcutta within the short time that has elapsed since the report has been in our hands—it was not possible to do anything within these two days. But, as soon as possible, that report will be dealt with and the matter will be discussed with the Corporation of

Calcutta ; and I trust that, before long, we shall be able to give effect, at any rate, to some portions of this report which certainly discloses a very undesirable state of things in Calcutta.

Taking the other criticism about the Calcutta Improvement Trust taking up Howrah, here again probably the Hon'ble Member is not aware of all that has passed between the Government on the one hand and the Municipality of Howrah and the Improvement Trust on the other. The Hon'ble Member suggests that the Improvement Trust should not take in hand the improvement of Howrah. The Howrah Municipality, on the other hand, suggests that the Calcutta Improvement Trust should do so. In considering this matter the Government was advised that as the law stood the Calcutta Improvement Trust could not take up the matter in hand without an amendment of the law; and before undertaking any legislation for that purpose the Government asked not very long ago the Improvement Trust to inform them as to whether they would be prepared to take up the work of improvement in Howrah if the law was amended and as to what provision, financial or otherwise, should be made for that purpose. All these are matters which have been actively engaging the attention of Government and are at the present moment the subject matter of correspondence between them and the Improvement Trust. Therefore, there is no reason to think that we have not been vigilant in this matter. The Hon'ble Mem-

ber asked for some other information and he seems to be under the impression that though we have promised to take action in this matter nothing has been done, namely, with regard to the appointment of health officers and sanitary officers in municipalities in and around Calcutta and elsewhere. I think if the Hon'ble Member will look at the notification of the 14th February, 1916, he will find that in exercise of the powers conferred under section 349 (*d*) of the Bengal Municipal Act the Governor in Council has fixed the class and number of the sanitary officers to be appointed for each of the principal municipalities mentioned in the notification which includes Maniktala, Bhatpara, Cossipore-Chitpur, South Subarban, Baranagore and so on, in and around Calcutta. So action has been taken and health officers have been appointed by these municipalities in these places. If they have not appointed them, the fault certainly does not lie with Government. I would like to draw the attention of the Council to the report of the Municipal Department for 1915-16, paragraph 28, where it is pointed out :—

There are signs of a tendency to avoid appointing the staff pending the receipt of grants-in-aid from Government. Municipalities must recognise that they are now under a legal obligation to appoint these officers irrespective of the receipt of assistance from Government and that this constitutes a necessary charge on municipal finances. Assistance from Government towards the pay of sanitary inspectors can only be expected when a municipality has shown both its readiness to make the appointment and its inability to meet the charge

notwithstanding a reasonable incidence of taxation without prejudice to the efficiency of other departments of the municipal administration.

The question of technical education is also raised by the Hon'ble Member. I would remind him of the debate in Council the other day on a resolution that was moved by the Hon'ble Sir Rajendra Mukerji where a scheme for the education of mechanical engineers was dealt with. There is only a portion of a very much larger scheme, and that as well as other schemes for the purpose of advancing technical education in Bengal, are now under consideration. Naturally we have got to wait for any new schemes for the reports both of the University Commission and the Industrial Commission that are now in progress. Hon'ble Members will also remember, with reference to the remark of the Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, that though the allotment for vocational education is comparatively small—a little over 4 lakhs, having regard to the fact that before we can have vocational education, we must have either primary or secondary education, or probably both, and it is only a limited sum that we have at our disposal we are unable to spend more than we do, but the amount is increasing, and I hope that when we have got proper schemes, money will be found for advancing such schemes as will be feasible.

There is one other matter that I may refer to in this connection, and that is Dr. Suhrawardy's complaint that there is no provision for teaching Arabic

and Persian for the Intermediate and Bachelor of Arts Examinations in Government colleges. No doubt that is correct to a certain extent, but our experience with regard to that is somewhat unhappy. Under pressure from the Muhammadan community, classes for teaching those languages were opened at the Krishnagar College and affiliation was obtained from the University for that college. The result has been somewhat disappointing, because there has been one student so far and the cost per month for that one student is Rs. 125 a month; so that it does not appear that there is any very great demand that has got to be met, and my friend's apprehension that students have to take up Pali and Sanskrit because of the want of provision for Arabic and Persian teachings seems somewhat contrary to facts. The Hon'ble Dr. Sarbadhikari reminds me that the University has classes for Intermediate and Bachelor of Arts Persian but I think the Hon'ble Dr. Suhrawardy mentioned that point and what he said was that the students could not afford to meet the additional fees. Anyhow, I hope and trust that so long as provision cannot be made in Government colleges, provision at any rate might be made for giving facilities to Muhammadan students in joining these classes at the University and I have no doubt that if representations are made to my friend the Director of Public Instruction for that purpose and if on enquiry he is satisfied that there is a genuine need, he will do all he can towards satisfying the community in that matter.

My Lord, I think I have met the specific requests or recommendations, as best as I could. If I have omitted any points I can assure Hon'ble Members that they shall be noted and kept in view and that when the occasion arises during the next year we shall endeavour to give effect to such of them as can possibly be given effect to.

There is one other remark which I should like to make though it really comes under Sir Henry Wheeler's portfolio, and that is that several members have said that the debate to-day is more or less a farce. But if that is so, and I dare say it may be and I won't contradict them, then is it not the best way for the Hon'ble Members in order to get rid of any such comicality to abstain from taking part in this debate. Surely it is in the hands of Hon'ble Members themselves to prevent this absurdity.

# INDIA AFTER THE WAR

*Mr. Saint Nihal Singh published in the Press the following text of his interview with Sir S. P. Sinha*:—

I asked Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha how India's destiny would be affected by the deliberations of that body.

"I am carrying back with me the most favourable impressions. Even many of those who were dead-set against India's political advancement are now convinced that something must be done for India after the War—something substantial. We have every reason to hope for the best."

"Will you tell me," I enquired, "the general lines along which progress is necessary and ought to be made?"

"By the steady devolution of control in favour of Legislative Councils," he replied.

"In what respects and to what extent?" I asked.

"I am not prepared to go into details," he said. "They required to be carefully considered. But I will say this much, that the Morley-Minto Reforms, though a distinct advance, gave Indians in the Legislative Councils only influence, and not power. Power is different from influence and what we need is a steady increase of power to determine and to control policy.

"Then you would not be contented," I asked, "if a few more high posts to be thrown open to Indians."

"No," he emphatically replied. "Persons who made out that educated Indians are after the loaves and fishes maliciously libel our character. We shall not be contented with a few crumbs. What we want is real power in the administration of our affairs."

After a brief pause, Sir Satyendra continued: "Often our critics allege that educated Indians represent nobody to cite a single instance where educated Indians in any of the Legislative Councils in India have sought anything for themselves—sought anything that was not for the common good of Indian people."

Taking advantage of a pause, I remarked:

"I notice that in your speeches in this country you have laid a great deal of emphasis upon the industrial advancement of India."

"Yes," said Sir Satyendra. "That is what I have been doing. Material progress is no less essential for India than political progress. Indian industries are susceptible of great expansion, and everything possible should be done to expand them."

"Quite so," I assented, "but how would the resolution of the Conference on Imperial Preference and the concurrence of His Majesty's Government with that proposal, effect the growth of Indian industries?"

Sir S. P. Sinha's reply was quick and emphatic. He said: "The era during which efforts were made to keep India a mere producer of raw materials has gone—gone for ever. The view that is now being taken is that India's raw materials must be for her use 'primarily,' and what she is unable to use should be made available for the Empire. No Indian can possibly take exceptions to this policy."

"You believe, then," I asked, "that the industrial ambitions of India do not clash with the economic interests of the United Kingdom?"

"Yes, I believe that the two can be harmonised," was his answer.

Returning to the subject of industrial expansion, I asked Sir Satyendra, "Do you think that India can develop her industries rapidly and adequately without being given fiscal autonomy?"

"Fiscal autonomy such as that possessed by the Self-Governing Dominions is necessary for the expansion of Indian industries," he answered.

"Would you be prepared," I asked, "to let India have fiscal autonomy without the Government being made responsible to Indians?"

Sir Satyendra replied: "To give the Indian Government more power without making it responsible to Indians would be to make the Government still more despotic. Further powers should not be given to the Administration unless accompanied by legislative concessions to the people."

"Now, Sir Satyendra," said I, "I will put the last question that I intend to ask you. Pray, tell

me what, above everything else, you would like Britain to do for India?"

"One thing above all others," he replied. "Words will not satisfy India. Actions are necessary. In spite of all that has happened, we of the older generation have unshaken faith in British integrity, fair-play and justice. The case is very different with young Indians. We of the older generation are, therefore, taunted by the younger men for our faith in Britain. The younger generation in India must be convinced that the older Indians are perfectly justified in reposing faith in Britain's promise to give India free institutions. Not words but the steady delegation of power into Indian hands will convince Young India."

# INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS

## I. Memorandum on Reciprocity

*The following is the text of the Memorandum by Sir P. S. Sinha on Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions presented to the Imperial War Conference at its fifteenth sitting on July* 24, 1918 :—

The views and recommendations of the Indian representatives on the position of Indians in the self-governing dominions were placed before the War Conference last year in the form of a memorandum, which appears as an annexure to the printed report of the Conference. The subject was discussed on Friday, April 27, 1917, and the 'Conference unanimously accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the dominions, and recommended the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.' It is mainly with a view to eliciting information as to whether any action has been actually taken, and, if not how soon it is likely to be taken, by the Governments concerned to give effect to our suggestions that a few of the outstanding questions are mentioned in the present note.

2. The Indian grievances dealt with in the last memorandum fall conveniently under the following three groups :

(1) Treatment of Indians who are already settled and resident in the self-governing dominions.

(2) The difficulties and disadvantages of Indians intending to visit the dominions not with the object of settlement but for purposes of travel, education, or business.

(3) The question of future immigration to the dominions.

3. As regards the difficulties of resident Indians, the disability imposed on the Sikh settlers in Canada, numbering about 4,000 men, of not being allowed to bring their wives and minor children to live with them is a very real and serious hardship, and as was pointed out in last year's note, has caused acute dissatisfaction amongst perhaps the most prominent martial race in India, and those who have flocked with the greatest alacrity to the Indian Army for the defence of the Empire. This unfair and unnatural prohibition is the more galling because the Indians resident in South Africa have, since the passing of the Indians' Relief Act of 1914, the privilege of introducing into the Colony one wife as well as her minor children. The Japanese have the right of taking not only their wives, but also their domestic servants. No further time should be lost in removing the prohibition, which appears to be in force in Australia also.

4. Of the Indians settled in the self-governing dominions, by far the largest number is domiciled in South Africa. Cape Colony has an Indian population of 6,606, Transvaal of 10,048, Orange Free

State of 106, and Natal of 133,031 souls. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 has removed many disabilities, but from reliable material placed before us it appears that there are still many substantial grievances and disabilities which are not merely of an administrative character, as General Smuts seemed to be under the impression last year, but are based upon already existing or impending statutory enactments.

## SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN DISABILITIES

The following would appear to be the principal grievances of South African Indians :—

(1) *Trading Licenses.*—It is necessary to obtain a license in order to be able to carry on any trade or business in South Africa. Each province has its own trading license legislation and the tendency recently has been in every province to transfer the control of licenses from the Government to municipalities. Although there is a system of appeals from the decisions of the municipalities, *e. g.*, in Natal to Town Councils or to Licensing Appeal Boards, the right of appeal to the courts is extremely limited. Thus, in Natal, against the refusal of applications for new licenses there is a right of appeal in matters of procedure, but not of facts, to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereas, in case of refusal to renew licenses, there is a right of appeal on facts also. It is generally contended that the municipalities arbitrarily refuse to grant licenses to Indians with the improper and

indirect object of destroying Indian trade, and the Indian newspapers are full of such instances.

The trading rights of Indians in South Africa are a vital issue. If the Indian community remains at the mercy of their European rivals in respect of the right of their members to earn an honest livelihood by trade, it is only a question of time for the whole community to become impoverished and be reduced to industrial helotry. The remedy seems to be to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licenses to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on question of facts as well as procedure.

(2) *Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise.*— As observed in last year's note, there are stronger and more obvious grounds for extending the municipal franchise to the Indians resident in South Africa than the Parliamentary franchise. It might be pointed out, however, that we are nearer to the introduction of representative institutions in India this year than we were last year, and therefore the argument for depriving the African Indians of the franchise on the ground of their coming from a country where representative institutions do not exist will carry still less weight now, and there is a strong case for granting the franchise, at least to the richer Indian merchants. Their claim to the extension of the municipal franchise in all the States seems to be much stronger, as this right is enjoyed in Natal and Cape Colony, where some Indians are reported to be discharging municipal functions to their credit. The special necessity for the grant of

the municipal franchise will appear from what has already been stated with regard to trade licenses.

(3) *The ownership of land.*—Unlike their compatriots in Natal and at the Cape, Transvaal Indians, under the old Republican Law III of 1885, remain under the disability that they are denied the right to own fixed property—*i.e.*, from having the legal ownership registered in their own names. The system of indirect ownership, in other words, nominal European ownership originally suggested by the Republican Government themselves, prevailed until quite recently and is still occasionally adopted. The process is round-about, cumbrous, and expensive, but the facts are notorious and the circumstances are legally recognised by the Courts.

Since, about the year 1914, the practice has grown up of forming and registering, under the Transvaal Companies Act, 1909, small private companies, with limited liability, whose members are all Indians (frequently an Indian and his wife) and possessing an independent legal person, for the purpose, amongst other things of acquiring fixed property. All these transactions have recently received judicial recognition. It is said that attempts are now being made by interested parties to deprive Indians of this right of indirect ownership of fixed property. Recently a question was put on the subject in Parliament, and the Government spokesman replied that it was intended to examine the question when the new Companies' Law was under consideration. Advantage has fre-

quently been taken by Indians of these indirect, but quite legal, methods to open businesses in townships whose private regulations prohibit the sale of stands to Indians, which, in themselves, are intended indirectly to compel Indians to reside and trade in special locations, which, again, would mean financial ruin to most of them, and against which attempt the Indian community has fought since long before the Boer War. On the contrary, the prohibition against Indian ownership of fixed or landed property should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, and to deprive Indians of some of the elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the province and which are possessed by their compatriots in the coast provinces . . . . Transvaal Indians ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast provinces, and such a statute as Law of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation.

### THE DOCTRINE OF SEGREGATIONS

(4) *Railway Regulations.*—In the Transvaal, for a number of years past, the policy of racial segregation has been enforced on the railways. Special legislation to that end was sought in 1910, but was strenuously opposed by the Indian community

with the result certain regulations were eventually agreed to, embodied in the papers published in Blue Book (Cd. 5363) of 1910 (pages 102-5 and 114) at a time when the Indian community was in a relatively weak position having its energies fully engaged in the passive resistance struggle, which was then at its height, and which left the community powerless effectively to resist further encroachments upon its liberties. But the arrangements therein referred to were of purely local application and were not intended in any way to affect the position or diminish the rights of Indians in the other provinces. Recently, however, regulations applicable throughout the Union have been published, some of which have already been withdrawn in deference to strong Indian opposition, while others remain in spite of that opposition not only embodying provisions contained in the old Transvaal arrangements but going much further, and extending to other provinces of the Union a racial discrimination not hitherto known there. The Indian community, for a long period of years, has consistently fought against statutory discrimination based upon racial distinction. Segregation in travelling would only be tolerable if designed by statute, where exactly equal opportunities and facilities were provided for the different races affected. This is impossible for financial reasons, no such remedy is available. Apart from this, the situation in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally is very different from what was in 1910, and less than ever

are Indians disposed to depart from the principle of equality under the law which they regard as fundamental in the British Constitution and for which they have suffered enormously in the past, and prepared to suffer again. Not only ought the position of Indians elsewhere in the Union not be reduced to the level of that in the Transvaal but the latter should be raised to the highest level anywhere in the Union.

The settlement of these and other outstanding difficulties should receive the earnest attention of the Provincial Governments and of the Union Government. It should not be forgotten that the bulk of the Indian settlement in South Africa is the result of the action of the South Africans themselves, and Natal, where the majority are domiciled, owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. 'The whole of Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population,' said Sir Lerge Hewlett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal, in 1903. In his farewell speech at Pretoria in November, 1912, Mr. Gokhale appealed to the European community in the following words:—'You have all the power and yours therefore is the responsibility for the manner in which the affairs of this land are administered. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilisation, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part and whose flag stands for opportunities for progress for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the civilised world.' This

noble exhortation points to an angle of vision which is much nearer reality to-day than it was in Mr. Gokhale's time, and after the promise of 'peaceful and statesmanlike' solution made by General Smuts last year, there should really be no difficulty now. In order to enable the Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, the provision of a convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the local Government authorities would be a first step. The appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria should be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them.

5. For the group of questions relating to facilities for travel, education, or business, it is clear that it should be easy to arrive at a liberal and a satisfactory solution almost immediately. The present position is that the dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter on temporary visits in Canada as 'tourists' and elsewhere by special permits which presumably are granted in the dominion concerned. For instance, Australian Circular No. 31, of August, 1904, lays down 'that any persons, *bonâ fide* merchants, students and tourists, travellers, provided they are in possession of passports . . . may be admitted. On arrival in the Commonwealth the education test in their cases will not be imposed, and such persons are to be permitted to land without restriction, but in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve

months, an application for a certificate of exemption should be made before the expiry of the term stating the reason for extended stay.'

In the case of *bonâ fide* students intending to study at any of the Australian Universities, the above requirement of special certificate of exemption appears to be quite necessary. The question of the Indian student problem in Australia has assumed special importance because at the present moment most of the Western world is practically almost shut out from Indian students, and will be for some time after the war, on account of the great rise of the cost of living and other causes. Australian Universities are out of the war zone and comparatively cheap, and the Indian student is poor, and the West Australian University is only about nine and a half days from Colombo.

### Future Emigration

6. Finally, as regards the question of future emigration of Indians to the Colonies for purposes of settlement, there is no change from the position which was taken up last year, that in this matter the Indian British subjects have a right to expect that they should not receive a less favourable treatment than other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. But this question is not of any immediate urgency for India, and might well wait for future discussion.

On our side we are being pressed to give practical effect to the resolution of last year's Conference and

we have in draft a Bill empowering the Governor-General of India in Council to make rules for the purpose of securing that persons domiciled in other parts of the British Empire should have the same rights and privileges as regards entry into, and residence in, British India, as are accorded by the law and administration of such other parts of the Empire to persons domiciled in India. But it should be made perfectly clear that it is in no spirit of retaliation that recourse will be had, if necessary, to this legislation, but simply for the attainment of an equality of status between different subjects of His Majesty in matters of immigration and allied subjects.

7. It is only necessary, in conclusion, to emphasise the necessity of definite action and a forward advance in these matters without any more delay. 'I do not lose a due sense of proportion', says the Aga Khan in his recent book, "India in Transition" 'when I say that one of the deeper causes, if not of discontent or disaffection, at any rate of the distrust of England and Englishmen that appeared on the surface in India of recent years, was the strained relationship between Indians and their white fellow-subjects in East Africa. A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans, and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race inferiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a subconscious spirit which, in a few decades, may

lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the original causes.' If the Indian representatives did not press this aspect of the question last year, it is not because they did not realise their force or importance, but because they felt that the sympathetic attitude of the oversea Ministers made it unnecessary for any special emphasis to be laid on the racial aspect of these questions. A most excellent start was made last year, and the impression created in India was most favourable. It would be a thousand pities if steps were not now taken to give effect and tangible shape to the good understanding and mutual comprehension attained last year. It is also obvious that these important questions should be settled not in any petty huckstering spirit of reciprocity only, far less of militant animosity and retaliation, but on those broad principles of justice and equality which are now more than ever the guiding principles of the British Empire, and which must be the foundations of the mighty Empires round the shores of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean which are slowly but surely rising before one's eyes.

## II. Address to the Imperial War Conference

*The Minutes of proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, held on the 24th July,* 1918, *embody the discussion at the Conference of a Memorandum submitted by Sir S. P. Sinha on the question of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. Mr. Walter Long presided.*

*Sir P. S. Sinha who led the discussion said:—*

Mr. Long,—I am desired by my colleague, the Maharajah of Patiala, who is unfortunately prevented from being present to-day, to express his entire concurrence in what I am going to say to the Conference. I also regret exceedingly the absence of Sir Robert Borden, because I wanted to express in his presence my deep feeling of gratitude for the generous and sympathetic spirit in which he has treated the whole question, both last year and this year. I desire to express my gratitude to him for the very great assistance he has rendered, to which I think the satisfactory solution which has been reached is very largely due—that is, if the Conference accepts the resolution which I have the honour to propose.

Sir, the position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties, both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers, made a stirring appeal

on behalf of the Indians, who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time, India was not represented at the Conference, and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911, the Marquess of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a memorandum to the Conference, which is printed in the proceedings for that year, and I cannot do better than just read one of the passages from that memorandum which shows the nature of the difficulties which had arisen and the solutions which had been proposed on behalf of the Secretary of State.

### Before the War

The Memorandum presented by the Secretary of State says this :—

"It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportuni-

ties to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag, and who have seen treated by their British officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies,' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are, of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeed in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

But the admission of temporary visitors to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the question were not so grave, it would be seen to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect ruling princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty, and have placed their troops at his

disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides-de-camp. It is, of course, true that no person of such distinguished position would in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling, that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial services in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions

lies in this that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinion."

### Outstanding Questions

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the war; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the Dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends, Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able on their return to their own country, in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some, of the grievances to which I refer. I recognise that it is a matter of time. I recognise their desire to remove those grievances, in so far as they are grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliaments for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000 —I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000—Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think—in fact, all in British Columbia; and the greater difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and children with them. Now the Resolution, in paragraph 3, removes this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during this war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity, which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion, is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

### Visit to the Dominions

I have read from Lord Crewe's memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the Dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the Resolution

which I propose—namely, that "British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other British country for visits" and that the system of passports now in existence be continued which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.

I think that, as the whole matter has been before the Conference so long, it would not be right for me to take up the time of the Conference further. I venture to think that if this resolution is accepted it will solve many of the difficulties which have arisen between the Dominions and India: and, speaking for India, I can assure you that it will cause the greatest satisfaction, and will help us to allay the agitation which, particularly at a time like this, is a source of grave embarrassment. That is all I have to say, Sir.

# SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL

*Prior to his departure for India, the Union of the East and the West held a meeting at the Grafton Galleries, on Saturday afternoon (September 28, 1918) to bid farewell to Sir Satyendra Sinha and to hear an address by him on "Social Life in Bengal." Lord Islington, the Under Secretary of State for India, presided.*

Sir S. P. SINHA said that, although there was a reaction in Bengal against the excessive occidentalism of a generation or more ago, the general tendency was unmistakably towards social progress and blending with the good qualities of the East the virility, self-reliance, and practicalness of the West. He combated the idea that there was no widespread or genuine demand for female education. Whatever might be the case in Southern India, the allegation of a Brahmanical caste dominance made by opponents of political reform in India did not apply to Bengal. Anything like tyranny of the Brahmins was absolutely unknown there. Many of the leaders of Bengal in commerce, intellect and art were men who, according to orthodox conceptions, were of very low caste or even outcastes. The movement for uplifting the depressed masses was actively progressing, and a society for this purpose, of which he was vice-presi-

dent, had established for them in the last two or three years as many as 500 primary schools in Eastern Bengal.

Sir S. P. Sinha took occasion to protest against the exclusion of Indians from the clubs in the large cities in India, save as waiters. These racial distinctions were productive of intense bitterness, especially when Indians so excluded were often in this country made members of the most exclusive clubs to which many Anglo-Indians could not aspire. The club habit was not an Indian habit, and there was never any fear of these English clubs being flooded with Indians if they were admitted; therefore he urged that this rule of excluding Indians should be swept aside, and an announcement given as wide publicity as possible that no objection would in the future be raised to the membership of Indians provided with the necessary sponsors. He also spoke with regret of the way in which, in Government schools and colleges, the relations between teachers and pupils have got worse in recent years, whereas those relations in national and missionary schools were nearly always very good.

# THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

## A Constructive Criticism

*In the following statement appearing in the "Times" (July 8, 1918), Sir S. P. Sinha, then Delegate of the Government of India to the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, gave his views on the Constitutional Reform proposals, with the object of eliciting helpful criticism:—*

The report is now available to the public for criticism; but it seems to me that there are two classes of critics who cannot be regarded as having any *locus standi*. The announcement of August 20th last, as the Report says, is "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." Those who consider that responsible government for India as an integral part of the British Empire is not a suitable goal for British policy reject the fundamental principle of the announcement which constituted the terms of reference to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy; and those who say that this will not be a suitable form of government for India within a measurable distance of time place themselves out of court as critics of the historic document, since the proposals it contains are designed to carry out that principle.

Equally out of court, and for similar reasons, are those who do not accept the limitations by which

this great pledge was conditioned, and particularly that the policy can be achieved only by successive stages. As the Viceroy pointed out some time back, the announcement as a whole must be kept in mind, and not only those portions of it which tend to support the particular point of view of individual critics.

While responsible government is not to be granted at once, we have the pledge that substantial steps in that direction shall be taken as soon as possible —which I interpret to mean without unavoidable delay. The only question arising out of the Report is whether the steps recommended are sufficiently substantial, or whether they go further than ought to be the case at the present time. People who hold either view have every right to put their opinions before the public, for such criticism alone can provide material for constructive effort. For myself, I unhesitatingly believe that the Report lays the foundations of an Indian Constitution which will contribute to the solidarity and unity of the Empire in like degree as the genius of Campbell-Bannerman achieved in the case of South Africa.

### Comparison with Congress Scheme

While not proposing to enter into the details of the constitutional changes recommended, I should like to refer to the reasons set forth in Chapter VII for non-acceptance of the Congress League scheme in its entirety. I do so because the scheme was so widely advocated in India. It should be

borne in mind, however, that many of the proposals of this scheme find acceptance in principle, and sometimes in actual detail, in the Report. In one sense, the difference between the two projects is more of procedure than of principle. Both aim at establishing responsible government within a reasonable time; both admittedly provide for a period of transition. The Report is a considerable improvement on the Congress-League Scheme in two essential particulars, *viz.*:—(1) Inasmuch as it provides adequate machinery for the political education of the people from the very start; and (2) as it ensures periodic examination of the political situation at definite intervals for the purpose of further advance, and invests the popular representatives with responsibility for certain important branches of administration at once.

The Report, I consider, successfully reconciles conflicting opinions—it is giving to the people large powers which, if properly exercised, will be of the greatest benefit to the country; it is giving them, to start with, real responsibility in some of the most important concerns of life; and it is at the same time reserving in the hands of the Executive Government full powers in respect of the elements of administration, namely, [illegible] nance of law and order. In view of the criticism popular powers will come only to the "intelligentia" in India, the Report suggests methods which will safeguard the interests of the masses.

I do not think there is much room for criticism,

as is apprehended in certain quarters. The machinery of provincial government will consist of two parts, dealing respectively with reserved and transferred powers, and there will be ample opportunities for mutual co-operation. In my judgment, the method of working provided and the safeguards proposed should go far to ensure smooth working. It would be unwise to pin one's faith on any particular detailed solution of the great and complex Indian political problem. There must be adjustment of view and reconciliation of apparently conflicting interests if satisfactory progress is to be made.

### Reciprocal Trust

We Indians ask for a policy of trust—i.e., we look to the British people to repose confidence in us, and not to imagine that we seek power not so much for our benefit as for their detriment. We Indians on our side must also put trust in the policy of the announcement, accepting with confidence the assurance that this policy is to be steadily carried out, and that is no mere temporary makeshift. The Report at any rate makes it clear that there is no intention of interpreting the declaration that Government must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance as meaning that the goal may never be attained. Provision is made for a thorough investigation, with a view to further steps after the new system has been in existence 10 years, and for periodic enquiries thereafter. What

we in India have to remember is that we can contribute enormously to such periodic advancement by the co-operation we give in treading this path.

The matters dealt with in the final chapter are of surpassing interest and value. The time is fully ripe for granting a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians in the Army; also for carrying out this important recommendation whereby one-third of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service should be recruited in India, with progressive extension. The recommendations in regard to industrial progress are also most encouraging. To my mind, reforms are of value in the degree and to the extent that they tend to the development of the country, and the most important phase of development needed is industrial. It will be to the advantage not only of India, but of the Empire as a whole, from all points of view—military, social, political, and economic—to press forward the industrial organisation stimulated by war. I cannot lay too much stress on considerations of such vital import to India and the Empire.

There is one other matter to which I would call pointed attention, *viz.*, that time should not be lost in giving effect to the recommendations in the Report. What may be cheerfully accepted now may become out of date to-morrow. I would strongly urge that the committees suggested to frame the electoral scheme and the division of subjects into two categories (transferred and reserved) should begin their labours at once, so that there may be

no delay in putting the scheme into operation once it is sanctioned.

I am confident that when this Report has been fully and carefully considered in India the bulk of the people will recognise that, for the first stage on the road to self-government, the recommendations go a substantial distance. They know the difficulties under which the framers of the Report had to choose their course, and cannot fail to appreciate the generous and liberal spirit in which it is conceived and worked out. To the illustrious roll of British statesmen who have laboured for India and whose names are remembered by our people with gratitude, they will assuredly add the names of Montagu and Chelmsford.

## ADDRESS TO LONDON INDIANS

*The Luncheon given by Indian residents in London in honour of the two Indian representatives at the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference was held at Claridge's Hotel and the guests included Mr. Montagu, and several of the Dominion representatives at the Imperial gatherings. In reply to the toast of the guests of the occasion proposed by the Chairman Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir Satyendra began with an expression of the thanks of the Maharaja of Patiala and himself. He continued:—*

We value this privilege not only as an emblem of the growing unity of purpose and spirit of co-operation which are steadily growing and animating all our national aspirations and endeavours, but also as a mark of the great importance you attach to the generous and statesmanlike recognition by the British Government of India's right to a position of perfect equality in the deliberations of what probably already is, and what in the future is certain to be, the Supreme Council for the settlement of all Imperial questions. I should like to take this public opportunity to thank my colleagues from the Dominions overseas for the courtesy and consideration they have always extended to us.

## India and the War

With the roar of thousands of guns rending the air in France and shaking the earth to its very foundations, and with the fate of the whole civilised world trembling in the balance, you will not expect me to discuss our political and constitutional problems, except in so far as they have a bearing on our one and only pre-occupation, *viz.*, the war, and what more we can do to help the Empire to win the war. I do not wish to go into any details, but I am sure I am betraying no secret if I give you an idea of the phenomenal increase in the output of the man-power from India. Whereas before the war the annual intake of combatant recruits was 15,000 only, the total number of recruits enlisted during the year ending 31st March last was nearly 4½ lakhs, including non-combatants. Our Army has more than quadrupled itself since the War began and we are going to make still larger additions immediately. (Cheers.)

*Having recalled the testimony of His Majesty the King to the work of the Indian Corps in France and that of Mr. Chamberlain when Secretary of State for India as to the work of Indian soldiers in all the theatres of war, Sir Satyendra continued:*

Brilliant as this record is, I am confident it is the feeling of all patriotic Indians that our contribution and our sacrifices would be still more substantial and decisive if we could only obtain even now the assistance we require to enable us to make our efforts

fruitful. (Cheers). If India had been an industrially advanced and self-contained country on a par with the other great wealth-producing countries of the world then by virtue of her position in the East and the volume, extent and variety of her resources, mineral and agricultural, she would have been the chief emporium of military stores, ammunition and ordnance, sufficient not only for her own requirements, but also for export both to the Near and Far East, and to the Dominions overseas. My chief concern as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet is to bring home to my colleagues to the best of my ability what measures will have to be adopted to enable India to be of much greater service to the common cause. I think if we clearly comprehend the limitations with regard to the financial, economic and military resources of India which have been revealed by the war, and also clearly grasp the reasons which have made all India rise as one man and embrace the cause of Great Britain and her Allies as her own, we shall get the key to the present political situation in India, and the opportuneness and wisdom of the scheme of constitutional progress which has been presented to us by the Secretary of State. (Cheers).

What is the real secret of India's attitude towards the present war? Why is India, as my distinguished friend Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu so pithily put it, "heart and soul with Great Britain" in this great struggle? Because in the first place India is the inheritor of a civilisation which has always set

right above might, and because the leaders of Indian thought realise that the cause of the Allies is the cause of right and liberty; that their struggle is the struggle against despotism and unrighteousness. In the second place India fully realises that her long connection with Britain can be, and is going to be, made compatible with the self-respect of her people who are daily growing in education, knowledge and experience, and that it must in due course develop into a Government by the people as part of the British Empire. (Loud Cheers).

## INDIAN LOYALTY

The striking, immediate and universal rally of all sections of the Indian peoples to the British flag during the present war was the most crushing reply to those who led themselves to believe that India was honeycombed with sedition and disloyalty to the British Crown. And unfortunately it is not only the Germans who made this mistake; some of the short-sighted prophets of the Indian situation held the same view. But the mighty wave of genuine loyalty and enthusiasm which has swept over the length and breadth of the Indian continent, has also swept away the cobwebs of these puny philosphers and dashed the hopes of the enemies of the Empire. But if India is so fully and universally loyal, if she also has been fired by such rare enthusiasm for the Allied cause, why has her weight on the scale not been heavier and more decisive? Because her vast and limitless material resources are still undevelop-

ed, because industrially she is still almost in the agricultural stage, and because the policy of trust and farseeing statesmanship which might have given her a powerful national army has not yet been consistently pursued. (Cheers.)

## A Radical Change

The War has, therefore, revealed in the clearest and most convincing manner the necessity of a radical change in the constitution and policy of the Government of India and in Britian's relations with India. (Applause). The steps taken to this end are the direct outcome of the phenomena which have come to light in connection with India's part in the present world conflict. The object of the proposed reforms is to put India definitely on the way by which she will be enabled within the shortest possible time to attain a form of government which the universal experience of the modern civilized world has shown to be the only form of political existence compatible with the highest self-evolution of peoples and nations in all the different spheres of their existence. In saying that the proposed programme of the gradual introduction of responsible government into the Continent of India is the direct result of the war and of the part played by India therein, I do not wish to ignore the fact that the previous constitutional changes inaugurated within the last decade, specially by the famous Morley-Minto reforms, were gradually and inevitably leading India in the path of the constitutional

changes which have now been definitely announced. But my object is to emphasise the fact that it is the war and the grave urgency which the war has recalled of making India more self-contained, and industrially advanced and more united, more prosperous and, if possible, more loyal, which has precipitated the question of political and other reforms. He will be a bold man who will venture to prophesy about the duration of the present war or its possibilities of extension in different spheres. As a matter of fact, political foresight has already declared it to be the incumbent duty of all those who are in any way responsible for the guidance of our preparations in this war to do everything possible to prepare against enemy aggression on or near our frontiers if the war is continued for some time longer. And in what way can we prepare more effectively than by putting our vast Indian Empire into order as quickly and as completely as we can? (Cheers.)

### The Merits of the Proposals

It is therefore the plain and bounden duty of all responsible British statesmen to lend the weight of their influence to help these proposed reforms to materialise with as little delay as possible. For in the face of the fundamental issue to which I have attempted to invite your attention, petty and short-sighted squabbles about details appear to me to be wholly out of place. If we are anxious to definitely embark on a policy of the gradual evolution of responsible government in India by the first instalment

of powers and responsibilities which will give legitimate and sufficient scope to the Indians for their political education, and if at the same time our object be to guard against the weakening of the central authority which will be responsible for the preservation of order and peace throughout the length and breadth of that vast Continent, I think it would be difficult to present a more cautious and at the same time a more liberal scheme than that which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have laid before the British Cabinet. (Cheers.) I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am not one of those who are inclined to make a fetish of mere forms of government. I believe that no system of government whether we call it aristocratic, bureaucratic or democratic, will *per se* produce political stability and promote the happiness of the people unless it affects the daily lives of men and women in relation to social evolution and economic order. Those critics who affect to belittle the Report as a mere attempt to substitute pseudo Parliamentary methods of government or as an efficient official agency of a benevolent though foreign bureaucracy, ignore, with or without deliberate intention, the recommendations and suggestions contained in the concluding chapter of that Report, unostentatiously styled "Miscellaneous," dealing with (*a*) the case for increasing the Indian element in the higher civil and military services, (*b*) the reasons for a forward policy of industrial development and (*c*) the necessity for improving the social relations between Indians

and Englishmen. The chief value of the constitutional reforms proposed, to my mind, is this that without them the last mentioned changes are not likely to be undertaken or effectively and persistently pursued. (Cheers.)

### THE CRITICS CRITICISED

Now that I have referred to critics of the scheme may I take this opportunity of entering a respectful, but emphatic protest against the use of intemperate language, and the substitution of invective and personal abuse for argument and reason on the part of responsible journalists in this country, in discussing the gravest political problem in the whole British Empire? (Cheers.) I do not refer so much to the personal abuse indulged in by certain newspapers with reference to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, though I think it is a pernicious example to set to our newspapers both English and vernacular in India. They will not be slow to follow the example, and the effect may prove so disastrous that the most rigorous press law in India will be of no avail to prevent the total disappearance of all respect for constituted authority, however honest or well meaning. I am not concerned with defending Mr. Montagu, who is well able to take care of himself, and as for the Viceroy of India, I must leave it to the sober good sense of British journalists how far it is consistent with either good manners or good policy to attack a man in that position who is necessarily unable to defend himself.

(Cheers.) But I take upon myself to utter a grave warning against descriptions of the masses of India as "a vast block of uncivilised peoples" and "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed."

*These, it should be explained, were passages in the "Spectator's" comments on the Report, which also contained references to the Brahmans which Sir S. P. Shina later condemned.*

Let not English people be lulled into a sense of false security by the comfortable belief that these masses will never know what is said in England. As sure as I am standing before you to-day these words will be translated into every vernacular in India and spread throughout the length and breadth of India with both legitimate and illegitimate comments.

### Brahman Politicians

Still more do I deprecate ill-natured attacks upon what is called the political section of the Brahmanical caste of India, whatever the limitation may denote. (Cheers.) I hold no brief for the Brahmans, political or otherwise. I do not belong to that caste myself; and everybody in India knows of my open, avowed and active hostility to all pretensions of caste and class supremacy on the part of Brahmans or any others. But I will take upon myself to repudiate the malicious insinuations against a class of my countrymen which includes such illustrious names as Ranade, Gokhale, W. C. Bonnerjee,

Surendranath Banerjea and others. And I venture to point out that ill-mannered and ill-informed attacks on a whole class held in respect and even reverence by large masses of the people of India, will inevitably provoke reprisals which will seriously hamper all efforts for either political or social reform, and will, in all probability, create a ferment prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire in this crisis of its fortunes. (Applause.)

### WHAT INDIA ASKS

It has been well said that the war has made the legitimate demand of India for self-government irresistible not so much on the grounds of the remarkable loyalty of India and of her whole-hearted co-operation and sacrificial service in the war, strong as these grounds are, but upon the declarations of England and her Allies that this is a war of liberation from military domination. India does not demand complete self-government at one stroke, because she realises the imprudence and unwisdom of such demand, but she does demand, that a definite and substantial step should be taken toward that end in the immediate future. It is of no use to say that the time is not ripe. The time will never be ripe in the eyes of those whose self-interest or timidity urges the continuance of the existing order, as I heard the Prime Minister of Australia say only yesterday in another connection. But if the professions of English statesmen are sincere, if they do in fact believe that free institutions are the

best school for liberty and freedom and that commercial or military domination of one people by another are henceforth to be spectres of the past they are in honour bound to accept the main principle underlying the Report. (Applause).

To my own countrymen who chafe at the limitations and are anxious to go further at once, I urge patience and moderation. I venture to remind them of the words of Lord Morley, that true and consistent friend of India, that "history, like geology, demands the use of the imagination" and in proportion as the exercise of the historic imagination is vigorously performed in thinking the past, will be the breadth of our conception of the changes which the future has in store for us as well as the length of time and the magnitude of effort required for their perfect achievement.

*After quoting a message left by the great leader Gokhale as to the motherland being worthy of the best work and highest sacrifice of her sons, Sir Satyendra concluded:*

I cannot close without assuring Mr. Montagu that we, Indians, have no misgiving, nor do we falter in our trust in him and the great cause which he has made his own. (Loud Cheers.) He has our sincerest gratitude and our warmest approbation for his courage, devotion and statesmanship, which I venture to predict will place his name in the list of those immortal British statesmen who, in serving their country, have also served the cause of justice and humanity in the world. (Loud Applause.)

# THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA

*Speaking at a Conference at the Oversea Press Centre, on the situation in India and the bearing of the proposed changes of the constitution upon it, Sir S. P. Sinha said :—*

It had been always understood that the ultimate goal of the system of governing India should be responsible government. It was small wonder that Indians who had been educated on English literature should aspire to the introduction in the East of the principles of democracy which had developed in the West. There was no reason to believe that those principles would not work equally as well in other countries as they had among Western nations. All systems of Government were progressive, even in Europe, and he admitted that India must pass through many stages before she was as well educated in the application of democratic principles as this country was. Speaking as an Indian, he would say that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was valuable not so much because of the measure of immediate performance which it gave, as of the promises of greater performance which it contained. If the scheme was carried out in its main principles, with possibly some of its too cautious checks and counter-checks eliminated, he thought it would give satisfaction to the great bulk of the people of India. Judging from newspaper reports and from communi-

cations he had received from India within the last few weeks, he thought he was justified in saying that the more the people of India studied the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme the more they were coming round to the opinion that it was a measure worthy of their acceptance.

## The Economic Situation

Referring to the economic condition of India Sir S. P. Sinha said that he noticed the other day that Sir James Meston had been reported as having said that India was in a great state of prosperity. He had reason for believing that Sir James Meston had been misunderstood. It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of government might be in India it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez-faire* was changed, she was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past, and was not prosperous now. It was true that the jute mills in Bengal were making huge profits, but the peasantry were little, if any, better off. The ownership of the mills was exclusively British—he might almost say exclusively Scottish—and that was where the profits probably went. They certainly did not go to the ryots, who had to pay war prices for food, salt, cloth, and other necessaries, but did not receive correspondingly increased payments to meet those higher charges. India had been the hewer of wood

and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire. She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resources, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this war. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserves in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire, and particularly to England, to find the remedy.

The industrial development of India was the most essential need of the present moment. Without an increase of prosperity it was useless to expect India to be contented and loyal to its connection with the Empire. It was no wonder that the educated classes of India were continually asking what was wrong with the Government, because, after all, it was the function of the Government and the people to see that there was prosperity in the land. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this sad state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

# THE SCOPE OF THE REFORMS

*Sir S. P. Sinha made the following statement in the "Manchester Guardian" soon after the publication of the Report on Constitutional Reforms* :—

With regard to the reform of municipal and rural boards, Lord Ripon, as early as 1883, laid down the principle that they should be controlled not from within, but, so far as is necessary, from without, that is, they should be purely non-official in composition and should be free to decide as they please, without the interference of an official element forming part of the Boards themselves. They should be controlled so far as necessary by the provincial Government, just as local authorities in England are controlled by the Local Government Board. It is generally recognised that this principle has not yet been completely or consistently applied. There is a school of critics which insists that this reform is all the advance that should be made in the way of liberalising our institutions. But such criticism fails to take account of two important considerations. First, in the interval, there has been growing in India a strong sense of nationality—a national consciousness which refuses to be satisfied with being entrusted merely with the petty, though important, details of municipal administration. These critics also fail to take sufficient account of

the fact that there are already in existence legislative councils entrusted by Parliamentary statute with the task of criticising the day-to-day administration and of existing laws.

What is shortly called the Indianisation of the Indian Services, that again, whether alone or in conjunction with the first, is not sufficient to satisfy the growing aspirations of the people of India generally to direct their own affairs; because after all, what the educated class in India ask for is not that we would merely substitute Indian for English officials, but that officials, whether English or Indian, should be responsible to the people themselves.

It is recommended that the different provincial Governments should be gradually made independent of the control of the central Government in so far as purely provincial matters are concerned. This has been sometimes described as a scheme for provincial autonomy. But, of course, if you merely relax the control of the central Government you make the provincial Governments more autocratic than they are now, unless you also gradually substitute the control of the people for the control hitherto exercised by the central or supreme Government.

Education, sanitation and agriculture are matters which affect the everyday life of the people and it may be possible to allow popular control in some or all of these matters, according to the particular province dealt with. But it is not proposed to allow popular control in the near future in matters which affect the preservation of law and order.

There are to be periodical enquiries by statutory Committees of Parliament into the progress made, and further advance will depend on the result of these enquiries. So, if the Scheme is adopted by Parliament and carried out, the administration of those departments of the Government which will be transferred to popular control will be responsible to the people, and the increase of subjects so transferred will depend upon the measure of success attained. That, as I understand it, is the scheme. It seems to me both liberal and cautious.

The franchise is to be extended, the legislative councils are to be enlarged, and the majority of members will be elected. The franchise ought to be as broad as possible, and as direct as circumstances allow. Under the peculiar conditions of India we have to deal with classes and communities in addition to electorates on a territorial basis—*e.g.*, the important community of Muhammadans. Any system must provide that these communities shall be adequately and effectively represented.

I should like to emphasise a little more that the main principles underlying the Report are common to itself and the scheme of the Congress and Moslem League. The Congress League Scheme was put forward at a time when it was not fully realised what precise step was immediately feasible in order to constitute a substantial advance towards responsible government, and the idea of those two important and representative bodies was that the Indian half of the Executive Council being elected

by the Legislative Council, and the resolutions of the Legislative Council on all matters, including the Budget provisions, being made binding on the Government, subject to veto by the Governor for a limited period, would constitute the most convenient half-way house on the road to complete responsible government. But they made no provision that these elected members of the Executive should be removable by or in any way responsible to the body which had elected them. Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy propose better and a real half-way house, because so far as the transferred departments are concerned the Legislature will exercise complete control over the Ministers in charge. To my mind, the defect in the Congress League Scheme was that it purported to divide the Executive Government and not the subject-matter dealt with by Government as a whole.

## THE TASK IN ENGLAND

*Sir S. P. Sinha, interviewed in Bombay on 24th November, 1918, by a representative of the Associated Press of India, said :—*

The Government of India is deputing me to represent them for the third time on the Imperial War Cabinet, which is about to re-assemble in London in order to deliberate on the terms of peace. I naturally appreciate the high honour done to me personally, but I value it even more because the British Cabinet has definitely recognised the right of the Government of India to participate independently with the Governments of the dominions overseas in all deliberations affecting the Empire as a whole. It is impossible for me to foretell what are the exact questions likely to arise either at the Imperial War Cabinet or at the Peace Conference. The public are to a large extent aware of the subjects discussed at the Imperial War Conference for the last two years. The resolutions of that body and most of its proceedings also have been duly published. I took part in all of them and I also sat on several committees of both Imperial War Cabinet and Conference this year as well as last year. I have endeavoured to make a special study, with the assistance of representatives of the Government of India, of the economic questions affecting India

which are likely to arise at the Peace Conference and I have been furnished with the views of the Government of India, Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies and public associations in India. If doubtful points arise in the course of the proceedings, I shall, of course, refer to the Government of India. I hope I may say without impertinence that the Government of India are actuated by a whole-hearted desire to protect Indian interests generally and in particular the interests of Indian producers and to further the development and expansion of Indian industries. If my countrymen knew my instructions, they would realize it as clearly as I do myself, but I hope that they will bear in mind that though Indian interests are our primary concern, larger imperial interests have to be borne in mind and India must be prepared to bear her fair share of the Empire's responsibilities. The inspiring messages from the King-Emperor and the Prime Minister have touched both the heart and the imagination of India. Faith and confidence are dominant in our hearts and we realize that the future is for those nations who will know how to regulate themselves and their affairs with patience, sobriety and due regard not only for their own interests but also for the rights and interests of others.

# MAIDEN SPEECH IN THE LORDS

*Lord Sinha delivered his maiden speech in the House of Lords on March* 4, 1919, *in reply to Lord Sydenham who asked when the opinions of the Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report would be available. Lords Islington and Crewe having congratulated Lord Sinha on his appointment to his high office and his elevation to the House of Lords, the latter spoke as follows*:—

My Lords, it is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to address your Lordships, and I hope I may be not altogether out of order if I begin by thanking my noble friend, Lord Islington, from whom I have in the past had a great deal of courtesy and consideration for the more than generous terms with which he has been pleased to refer to me; and I thank your Lordships also for the very kind reception you gave to the remarks.

With regard to the Question on the Paper by the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, my task is comparatively easy, because I have only to draw your Lordships' attention to what has been already promised as early as November last by Lord Islington himself and also last month—on February 17 and 19—by the Secretary of State for India in another place. The first set of Papers which Lord Sydenham asked

should be published refers to the opinions by the Local Governments on the great scheme known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme for constitutional reforms in India. Replying in the House of Commons to a Question put on February 17 and 19, respectively, the Secretary of State said:—

"I have at present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments as to the proposals for constitutional reforms, but I expect before long to receive them officially from the Government of India, together with the Government's considered views on the whole subject, and of course they will be presented to Parliament, though I cannot at present specify a date."

Then, as early as November last, Lord Islington, speaking in your Lordships' House, said this—

"The Reports from the Local Governments on the Reforms Report, and all the material which will be of use in the discussion of this matter, in so far of course as they do not contain confidential matter, will, in due course and without unnecessary delay, be published."

I repeat that assurance, but I cannot add anything further to it. The Government of India's Despatch giving their views on the opinions of the Local Governments has not yet been received, though it is expected that it will not be very long in arriving, probably not later than the end of this month. The Report of the Government of India should then be in the hands of the Secretary of State. As soon as it is received and has been con-

sidered by the Secretary of State it will be placed before the Parliament.

There is another set of Papers for which the noble Lord asked—the Reports of the two Committees over which Lord Southborough presided in India, and also the evidence which may have been recorded by those Committees. As regards the Reports themselves the Secretary of State has definitely pledged himself to place them before Parliament. The Reports so far as we know have not yet been signed—at least our information is that it is only one Report of the Committee, that to determine the electorates, that has been signed. We have no information regarding others. Lord Southborough and the members of his Committees are, I believe, already on their way back from India, and the Reports will be in the hands of the Secretary of State I hope before the end of the present month. As soon as they are received they will be placed before your Lordships' House. As to the evidence, all that I am in a position to tell your Lordships at present is that the procedure to regulate proceedings of these Committees was left entirely to the discretion of Lord Southborough and the members of the Committee. It is not known whether they have recorded evidence with a view to publication and in any case until the return of Lord Southborough and the receipt of the Committee's reports it is not possible to give any information on the subject or to publish any evidence that may have been given.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my entire concurrence with what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham. I also consider that absolute frankness is essential in the consideration of these most important matters; and so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, and so far as myself am concerned, I hope that there will be no occasion on the part of your Lordships to complain in that respect. With regard to the documents to which my noble friend, Lord Islington, referred—namely, the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission—may I remind your Lordships that it was formally laid before your Lordships' House on February 19 last, and on inquiry of the printers it has been ascertained that copies will be available for circulation on Thursday next by noon. Therefore copies will be available both for your Lordships' House and to the public on Thursday next. I entirely agree, if I may say so, with Lord Islington as to the importance of this Report, and also with regard to the complaint which he has made—though perhaps it is not for me to urge it now—that the Government of India, before this Commission was appointed, could hardly be accused of having been too progressive in industrial matters. It is the earnest hope of all who are concerned in the Government of India, as well as of the Indian people themselves, that effect may be given to the recommendations of this Commission as soon as they have been considered by the Government of India in the first place, by the Secretary of State and by Parliament. I can assure my noble friend that, so

far as any action on this Report is concerned, the Secretary of State has already intimated to the Viceroy that no action should be taken until the opinions of the Local Government on the Report, as well as the considered opinion of the Government of India, had been received by him, and there will be ample opportunity given to the members of your Lordships' House to study and consider this Report, and, if need be, to raise any discussion upon it before any action is taken in regard to it. That is, I think, all that I need say at this stage with regard to the first Question on the Paper.

## THE KATARPUR RIOTS

*In the House of Lords on March 4th, 1919, Lord Sydenham asked the Under Secretary of State for India "if he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village." Lord Sydenham made a speech in which he alleged that there was some connection between the occurrence of Hindu-Moslem riots and the demand for Constitutional Reforms. Lord Sinha said in reply:—*

My Lords, with regard to the second Question on the Paper, in so far as information has been asked for by my noble friend I shall proceed to give that information at once. As regards comments, with your Lordships' leave I will reserve them until I have given the narrative of facts. This Question relates to riots which undoubtedly took place in a village called Katarpur in September last. The information which has hitherto been received by the India Office from the Government of India has been by cable, and is therefore necessarily meagre. I would have contented myself with giving your Lordships the bare facts as received by us by cable from the Government of India, but I thought it would give satisfaction both to the noble Lord who

asked the question and to the members of your Lordships' House if I were able to give a fuller account from any other source that was available, and I have accordingly compiled one from a newspaper account of the opening speech of counsel in the prosecution which has arisen out of this case, in order that your Lordships may have fuller information as regards the facts.

A serious riot took place in the village of Katarpur, in the sub-division of Roorkee in the district of Saharanpore, on September 18 last, and it is alleged that in the riot at least thirty Muhammadans were killed, sixteen injured, and a large part of the village burnt down. The circumstances which led up to the riot extended over a series of some days. The village is one in which, according to the latest Census Report, there were 538 Hindus and 238 Muhammadans, and there is a mosque, or *idgah* as it is called, in the village. The surrounding villages were in the main what might be called Hindu villages, and the town of Kankhal (also chiefly Hindu in population) as well as the great place of pilgrimage, Hindwar, is also within a few miles of the village of Katarpur.

On September 11, the Bakr-Id festival of the Muhammadans being close at hand, the police moved the Sub-divisional Magistrate to bind over the leading Muhammadan and Hindu villagers to keep the peace during the Bakr-Id festival, which extends from September 17 to September 19 inclusive. They did so, inasmuch as there seemed to be a contro-

versy—which is the usual controversy in these cases—as to whether Katarpur was a village in which cow sacrifice at Bakr-Id was customary or not, and it therefore seemed necessary that precautions should be taken. On September 13, owing to the intercession of local officers, the parties appear to have come to an arrangement by which it was agreed that sacrifices should be quietly performed in the houses of two of the Muhammadans of the village. Later on, however, this agreement is alleged to have been repudiated by the neighbouring Hindus, with the result that on September 17, the first day of the Bakr-Id, a crowd numbering thousands arrived at this village armed with big sticks. The local officers tried to get the people to come to some settlement but, failing to do so, wired to the Sub divisional Magistrate at Roorkee to come to the place, and he arrived there on September 18, accompanied by a number of police constables. He found an excited crowd moving about in groups. It was when the local Magistrate was present in the village that suddenly some cry was raised which seemed to be the signal for a general attack by the Hindus on the Muhammadans, who were fewer in number, and the huts in the Muhammadan quarter were set on fire by groups of Hindu rioters. The fire stopped in the afternoon, and in the meantime an armed guard had been wired for from Roorkee. This guard arrived, and no further rioting took place. It is said that seventeen corpses were found by the sub-divisional officer, either burnt or partially burnt,

and some more corpses were found later inside Muhammadan houses. A number of arrests were made later, and about 100 persons are now on their trial. At the proposal of the Local Government, a special Tribunal, constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915, presided over by Mr. Justice Tudball of the Allahabad High Court, was set up for the purpose. The Government of India has promised to telegraph the result of the proceedings as soon as they are finished. Those are the facts with regard to the rioting.

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasions of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no

one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Government, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any control to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and with the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years, long before any constitutional

reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefits but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the officials with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the officials of the Government, the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

## SPEECH AT THE SAVOY DINNER

*On Friday, March 7th, 1919, the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha was entertained at Dinner at the Savoy Hotel, London, by his friends and admirers, both British and Indian, upon the occasion of his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner presided. Lord Sinha replied to the toast:—*

Your Highness, my lords and gentlemen,—I can hardly express my sense of gratefulness to your Highness, for the very kind, much too kind and cordial terms in which you have proposed the toast of my health, and to you, my lords and gentlemen, for your very generous response. I should be more than human, less than human if I may say so, if I failed to be touched to the innermost recesses of my heart by this warm expression of your goodwill towards me, and I say without exaggeration that it will leave an abiding impression on my mind. But I am sure you will not think me vain enough to take this generous appreciation on your part of the position to which I have been called by the King-Emperor as in any sense personal to myself. My appointment as Under Secretary of State for India is a striking illustration of the principle which Great Britain has adopted in the government of our commonwealth as applied to India. We, the

loyal Indian subjects of his Majesty, have been holding fast for now more than sixty years to the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, emphasizing the abolition of all distinctions of race and religion in the administration of India as the great Charter of our rights ; but slowly, steadily, almost imperceptibly, the march of events has taken us far beyond the position which that great proclamation gave us. India has been given a recognized and honoured place in the central councils of the Empire in war and peace, her Princes and her people have been treated as the equal custodians of our joint heritage, and Indian aspirations are measured to-day not in terms of our country, great as she is, but in terms of a greater fatherland of which India forms an integral part. (Cheers.) Indian representatives have participated on equal terms with the rest of the Empire in the anxious deliberations of war and peace; and though I frankly confess (not in any spirit of assumed humility, but in all seriousness) that I am all too unworthy of the great honour done to me, England has shown to the world that in her Imperial family she recognizes the claims of all its members and disregards the prejudices which have prevailed for centuries.

## Equal Citizenship

I have no doubt that you are here to-night, not so much to do honour to me as to put the seal of your approbation to this policy, to let all whom it

may concern know that England is not going to retrace her steps, because the danger with which she was threatened is over, but that she holds fast to that great principle of freedom and equality in vindication of which she staked her very existence. (Loud cheers.) It is that aspect of my appointment which has given such universal gratification to my countrymen. I have had the honour of receiving congratulatory telegrams which have come pouring in from all parts of India, and indeed from all parts of the world wherever there are Indians, from our great ruling Princes, from heads of ancient religious foundations, from our territorial aristocracy, from the leaders of Indian thought of all shades of opinion, and resolutions of approval and gratitude have been passed by different provincial councils, municipal corporations, district boards, public associations, and at public meetings in towns and villages. What can be the meaning and the significance of this universal acclamation from India? It is not because of me, for I only occupy the position as illustration of a great principle; it is because that great principle to which I have referred has been so strikingly upheld and vindicated, and more especially because such vindication has largely dispelled, as I firmly believe, the doubt and misgivings which are everywhere arising in India owing to indiscriminate and ill-informed attacks against the educated classes of India, not merely by irresponsible critics in the Press, but even by some who have held high and responsible offices in India.

### Loyalty of the Educated Classes

And, sir, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a solemn protest, not so much against scornful sneers or offensive epithets, for these may be left to be their own answer, but against the idea that appears still to prevail in certain quarters that the educated classes of India are unfriendly to British rule. If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. (Loud applause.) We should not be worthy of our long connection with Great Britain and of our education if we were not. It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials. And I cannot do better than quote one sentence from an article published as long ago as 1895 by the late Sir Richard Garth, K. C., a Tory Member of Parliament and a former Chief Justice of Calcutta, nobly defending the classes whom he knew so well against similar attacks which were then being made:—

'What have they done to deserve this choice invective? I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves, and not only for themselves, but for the millions of poor, ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own interests and to brave the Government in order to lend a helping hand to these poor people.'

I do not deny that there have been occasional

aberrations on the part of a very small number, but I venture to think that, when not due to enemy intrigues, these have been almost solely due to the doubts and misgivings I have already referred to—often unreasonable, often unfounded, but still there. I can only express a hope that in the future no act or speech of responsible journalists and statesmen will foment or add to these suspicions. (Cheers.)

Sir, I venture to assert that the educated classes, without exception, ardently desire to remain within the fold of the British Empire with the status of equal British citizens. They desire equality within the Empire and not severance therefrom. (Cheers.) How otherwise is it possible to understand the thrill of pleasure which was felt by all India when Lord Morley referred to me as 'one of the King's equal subjects'? How otherwise can we explain the wave of enthusiasm that has passed over India with regard to my recent preferment? This is how one of the best organs of Indian public opinion —the *Leader* of Allahabad—expressed it. 'An Indian, and a member of his Majesty's Government! We confess that the historic event powerfully stirs our imagination and fills us with a new gratitude towards old England. Truly is that silver girt isle the home of liberty and justice! Long may she live and prosper.' (Loud applause.)

### British Congratulations

Sir, I must also take this opportunity to say what a source of peculiar pride and pleasure it

is to me that hosts of my Anglo-Indian and British friends, officials as well as non-officials, have sent me their congratulations in terms no less appreciative so far as I am personally concerned, and what is more precious to me—recognising equally with my own countrymen the political value of the unprecedented step that has been so boldly taken by those who are responsible for the future destiny of this far-flung Empire. To all and each of these friends of mine, I have tried to reply either by cable or by letter, but I take this opportunity of thanking them again singly and collectively.

The Press, too, both in this country and in India have accorded almost without exception their sanction and approval to my appointment and elevation, and I should like to express grateful thanks, both for myself and my country, for their generous attitude. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to another personal aspect of the matter. I know that there are many countrymen of mine far more deserving than myself of the honours which have been bestowed upon me. ('No, no.') I can honestly say, I wish that these honours had gone to one of them, but uppermost in my mind to-day, and indeed ever since the date of my appointment, has been the thought that there was one man who would and could have done far the greatest service to India if my position to-day were his—Gopal Krishna Gokhale (loud applause)—whom India shall ever mourn as one of her most patriotic sons and whose untimely death was one of the greatest of our

misfortunes. Nor can I help giving expression to a poignant sense of regret that, that true friend of Indian aspirations than whom no man worked more hard or more unselfishly for our advancement—Sir William Wedderburn (cheers)—should not have lived to see what I am sure he would have hailed as a token of the new spirit which to-day animates Great Britain in her relations with India. A high British official and friend of mine has written to me that India has taken my appointment as 'clearly showing that his Majesty's Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire.' (Cheers.)

### The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme

I have no doubt they mean business, and I am confident that a generous scheme of reforms will be passed by the Parliament of this country—and that the preoccupations of the coming peace and the necessity for full consideration of the Report of the different Committees will not cause any great delay. I am confident that a reform scheme will be in operation within the next twelve months. (Cheers.)

There is at present, at any rate, one well considered scheme before the public—the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. I agree with so much of what is said in a leading article of yesterday's *Times* that I make no apology for quoting one sentence from it:

'The great need of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme at this juncture is neither laudation nor

abuse, of both of which it has had far too much, but constructive criticism of which there has been far too little."

I am not going, therefore, to discuss the merits or the demerits of that scheme. But may I state shortly what I understand to be the position?

There is complete unanimity as to the wisdom and necessity of the policy declared by his Majesty's Government on the 20th August, 1917. The only scheme yet before the public as a well considered attempt to give effect to that policy is the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. Large parts of that scheme are accepted by all shades of opinion, *viz.*: (1) A close connection between the Indian States and British India; (2) the necessity of as complete a decentralization as possible between—(*a*) the Secretary of State in Council, (*b*) the Government of India and (*c*) the provincial governments; (3) the necessity of complete freedom in matters of local self-government; (4) a much larger infusion of the Indian element in the superior services, civil and military; (5) full industrial development; (6) a broadening of the franchise for all Legislative Councils, so as to make them more truly representative; and (7) a transfer of so much control as is consistent with the interests of law and order broadly speaking from the bureaucracy to the representatives of the people. Controversy centres principally round the extent of such control and the method of such transfer. When there is so much agreement I trust it is not too much to hope that means may be found

to arrive at some solution satisfactory to all parties concerned in the matters upon which there is a difference of opinion. (Cheers.)

### POPULAR GOVERNMENT

I hope, your Highness, my lords and gentlemen, I may not be charged with presumption if I venture to utter a few words with a view to the adjustment of these differences. These words are not my own, but those of the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, a well-known and universally respected missionary educationist, who has lived many years in India. They were published, in the Indian number of the *Overseas Journal*:—

"Yet the alternative is our own continued domination, not self-determination in India, but a foreign rule; beneficent, no doubt, as heretofore; but that is the very claim the Germans advance as their right to dominate the world. Or is our championship of the right of nations to free self-determination only political camouflage for war propaganda against Germany? No, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman once so well said, "Good government is no substitute for self-government." If we have to choose between the loaves and fishes of fat and self-security under domination and all the ennobling pains and risks that make us men, we will choose the arduous path to freedom every time. And because we know it is the highest good, we must choose that for others as well as for ourselves, so far as they are in our hands. Of course it means taking risks. But that way men

are made. What makes us pause is this: that the risks have to be run by India, not by us. Political experience cannot be bought second-hand. Nor will India any longer be content with the offer of security and comfort in place of freedom. It is too late to go back upon the world's pronouncement in favour of popular government; and the thought nerves of the world that have so decided, now run through India from end to end. This is the exhilarating task that now confronts British statesmanship: the training for freedom of one-fifth of the entire world's population, of peoples besides whose hoary civilization, millenniums old, we seem to be but a mush-room growth of yesterday. And we shall not shirk it."

Thus speaks a free-born Englishman and, may I add with all respect, a faithful follower of Christ's teaching. In the editorial notes of the same journal we read as follows:

"Our task. . . . must be to render every assistance in our power towards the development of an autonomous India within the Empire, while that of the educated Indian must be to exercise wise patience and restraint, and realizing that the pace must be set for the average rather than the exceptional man, he must work for the unifying and educating of his fellow-citizens."

These are wise words which both Englishmen and Indians can well keep in mind. We have trusted England in the past. I appeal to my countrymen not to lose this trust in the future,

though probably I should not say so, England has given conspicuous proof, if proofs were needed, that she deserves all our trust (applause) in the responsible duties that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to entrust to me.

Your Highness, this is perhaps not the occasion when I should give expression to my personal obligations to you for all the kindness and consideration I have received from you for many years past. But I feel I cannot let this opportunity pass without thanking you publicly for the wise advice and ungrudging co-operation which I have received from you during the time it has been my privilege to be associated with Your Highness in our high Imperial duties. And India will thank you for having exploded so many myths which are used by the opponents of Indian aspirations. I trust it will be no longer possible to suggest with any truth that constitutional reforms are not favoured by the Indian Princes and the Indian Army, or that they look with disfavour on the appointment of Indians to high office under the Crown.

Your Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen, I once again express my grateful thanks to you for the great honour you have done me. (Loud cheers.)

## INDIANS AND ENGLISHMEN

*Lord Carmichael (who presided), Lord Sinha, and Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., were among the speakers at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association, which was held at the Association's offices in Cromwell-road, South Kensington, in June 1919. The annual report stated :—" With the advent of peace a new day dawns for India, as for all other parts of the world. The need for broad-minded sympathy and understanding between the peoples of Britain and India has never been so urgent as it is now, and it behoves an organization like the National Indian Association, which stands for such ideals, to take the opportunity of increasing wherever possible the feeling of good will and friendship between them. India has come to the aid of Britain and has joined with her in fighting for the freedom of the world, she has given of her men and of her money, and if now a policy of co-operation can be carried out in a generous spirit, it will tend to bring them closer together and bring strength and progress to both countries." Mr. Bennett, in moving the adoption of the report, said that if ever there was a time when the Association could be of value to India, to this country, and to the Empire, it was the present, when the call was more clamant than it had been hitherto to bring the Indian and the British people into the closest possible relationship.*

Lord Sinha, in seconding, said the object of the Association was to bring about closer friendship and co-operation between the Indian and the English peoples in general, and that was an object which he preached in and out of season. If the Indians on their side sometimes thought that there was a desire on the part of the English to keep them below the political level which the Indians thought they were entitled to occupy, many Englishmen thought the Indians were wrong in the hopes in which they indulged. There were faults on both sides. The Indians suffered from mistrust and suspicion, and the English from racial antipathy. The idea should be abandoned that Indians were incapable of rising above the level to which they had attained, and Englishmen should realize that it was not impossible for an Indian to be their equal socially in every other respect. The restrictions of caste, and the seclusion of women, in India need not be real barriers to free social intercourse. The Indian people had begun to think in terms of the Empire, and if that feeling were to be encouraged the British must believe that India was a genuine and an equal part of the Empire. Referring to th telegram, published in that day's newspapers, from South Africa, he said the position of Indians there was far worse than it had been before the war. If India and South Africa were to be parts of the same Empire such humiliating restrictions as were mentioned in that message must not be imposed upon Indians.

# PART II

# Evidence before the Public Services Commission

*The following is the full text of Sir S. P. Sinha's written and oral evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Service during their Enquiry at Calcutta in January*, 1913.

9808 (1). What is your experience of the working of the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination in England for the Indian Civil Service? Do you accept it as generally satisfactory in principle?—(*a*) My experience is that it works very well. (*b*) I do.

9809 (2). In what respects, if any, do you find the present system faulty in detail, and what alterations would you suggest?—*Except as hereinafter stated*, I have no fault to find with the present system and no alterations to suggest.

9810 (3). Is the system equally suitable for the admission of "Natives of India" and of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? If not, what alteration do you recommend?—As a system of selection, I think it equally suitable for all natural-born subjects of His Majesty, including "Natives of India," but "Natives of India" are at a very serious disadvantage inasmuch as the examination is held in England.

9811 (4). Do you consider that the combination of the open competitive examination for the Home and Colonial Civil Services with that for the Indian Civil Service is or is not to the advantage of Indian interests? Please give your reasons?—I think it is to the advantage of Indian interests, inasmuch as it leaves it open to candidates to choose which service he would prefer to the last, and thus increases the chances of India getting the best men available.

9812 (5). If you do not consider the present system of recruitment by an open competitive examination to be satisfactory in principle, please state what alternative you would propose.—Please see my answer to question (2).

9813 (6). In particular, what would be your opinion regarding a system of simultaneous examinations in India and

in England, open in both cases to all natural-born subjects of His Majesty?—I think that under present conditions it is not practicable to hold such simultaneous examinations in India and in England, if by that is meant that the men who head the combined lists of candidates must be selected, irrespective of any proportion between English and Indian candidates, *e.g.*, if 50 men have to be selected out of 200 candidates, appearing partly in India and partly in England, and the first 50 in the list are all Indians (a result which is possible, though extremely improbable), I do not think it possible to give all the appointments for the year to these 50 Indians.

9814 (7). What would be your opinion with regard to filling a fixed proportion of the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service cadre by Natives of India, recruited by means of a separate examination in India, or by means of separate examinations in each province or group of provinces in India? If you favour such a scheme, what proportion do you recommend?—My opinion is that a fixed proportion of the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service cadre should be filled by "Natives of India," recruited primarily as the result of the examination held in London and, if necessary, supplemented by the result of the same examination (if possible, and if not possible then a separate examination of a similar nature) held in India. I would recommend that such proportion should be one-third of the total number of vacancies. An illustration will best explain my idea. Suppose there are 60 vacancies. Twenty should be reserved for Natives of India. If the list of successful candidates at the examination held in London includes 20 Natives of India, there will be no vacancy to fill up as the result of the examination in India. But if it includes, say, only 5 Natives of India, there will be 15 vacancies to be filled up by the result of the examination in India If there are none successful in England, the whole 20 will be filled up from candidates in India. In the case of candidates appearing in India, it should be laid down that there should be a *minimum* number of marks necessary to be obtained. Though subject to much legitimate criticism the scheme proposed above seems to me to be likely to satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations; the details I have not been able to work out in the short time at my disposal.

9815 (8). If you do not approve of simultaneous or separate examinations in India, are you in favour of any system under which "Natives of India" would be selected in India

for admission to the Indian Civil Service by means of (*a*) nomination, (*b*) combined nomination and examination, or (*c*) any other method? If so, describe fully what system you would recommend. In particular do you consider it desirable that all classes and communities should be represented in the appointments so made? If so, how would you give effect to this principle?—I have already expressed my approval of simultaneous examinations in the sense above described. But in any case I think it is undesirable to introduce the principle of representation in the matter of appointments to the Indian Civil Service.

9816 (9). If you are in favour of a system for the part recruitment of the Indian Civil Service by "Natives of India" in India, do you consider that "Natives of India" should still be eligible for appointment in England?—Yes. Please see my answer to question (7).

9817 (10). Would you regard any system of selection in India which you may recommend for young men who are "Natives of India" as being in lieu of, or as supplementary to, the present system of promoting to listed posts officers of the Provincial Civil Service? If the former, what alteration, if any, would you recommend in the conditions governing the Provincial Civil Service?—If the proportion I recommend in my answer to question (7) be accepted, I would not ask that the present system of promoting to listed posts officers of the Provincial Service should be retained. But if it is rejected, or a smaller proportion accepted, I would recommend the present system to be retained.

9818 (11). Do you recommend any separate method of recruitment for the Judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service? If so, please describe the system which you would propose?—I am not prepared to recommend the *immediate* adoption of a separate method of recruitment for the Judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service. But I am of opinion that a beginning should be made of appointing Barristers and Vakils of High Courts of not less than five years' standing to some of the District Judgeships, care being taken to select men who have already acquired some distinction at the Bar.

9819 (12). Are you satisfied with the present statutory definition of the term "Natives of India" in section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1870 (33 Vict., c. 3), as including "any person born and domiciled within the Dominions of His Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India

and not established there for temporary purposes only," irrespective of whether such persons are of unmixed Indian descent, or of mixed European and Indian descent, or of unmixed European descent? If not, state fully any proposals that you wish to make in regard to this matter?—If the definition does not include subjects of Native States [and it apparently does not (see Ilbert's Government of India, page 235)] it should be so amended as to include them. In other respects, I consider the definition satisfactory.

9820 (13). If the system of recruitment by open competitive examination in England is retained, state the age-limits that you recommend for candidates at such examination, giving your reasons?—The present age-limits (22 to 24) seem suitable for both English and Indian candidates. This renders it possible for both classes of candidates to obtain University degrees before appearing for the examination. Those who do not succeed have still other professions which they are not too old to take up. It seems to me that persons occupying the responsible position of an Indian Civilian should not be younger than 24 or 25.

9821 (14). What in your opinion is the most suitable age at which junior civilians recruited in England should commence their official duties in India?—24 or 25.

9822 (15). What age-limits for the open competitive examination in England would best suit candidates who are "Natives of India" and for what reasons? Do you recommend any differentiation between the age-limits for "Natives of India" and for other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? —The same as for English candidates. No.

9823 (16). What alteration, if any, do you recommend in the authorized syllabus of subjects and marks prescribed for the open competitive examination?—I think the following subjects and marks should be prescribed in addition to those already existing :—(*i*) Indian History (Hindu and Muhammadan period) 500 ; (*ii*) Indian History (British period) 500; (*iii*) Indian Law (Hindu and Muhammadan) 500. The marks for Sanskrit and Arabic should also be increased from 500 to 800 each.

9824 (17). Is any differentiation in the subjects for the open competitive examination in England desirable between candidates who are Natives of India and other candidates?—No.

9825 (18). Do you consider it necessary that certain posts should be reserved by statute for officers recruited to the Indian Civil Service, and, if so, what posts and for what reasons?—Yes, as at present, subject to the recommendation made in my answer to question (11).

9826 (19). Do you consider that a minimum proportion of European subjects of His Majesty should be employed in the higher posts of the Civil Administration? If so, to what proportion of the posts included in the Indian Civil Service cadre do you consider that Natives of India might under present conditions properly be admitted?—Yes. The proportion for Natives of India should, in my opinion, be one-third, generally speaking.

9827 (20). Do you accept as generally satisfactory in principle the present system under which Natives of India are recruited for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre partly through the medium of an open competitive examination in England, and partly by special arrangement in India?—Yes; the competitive test being applied in India, as far as it is practicable.

9828 (21). Do you consider that the old system of appointment of "Statutory Civilians" under the Statute of 1870 should be revived, and, if so, what method of recruitment would you recommend?—No.

9829 (22). If the system of recruiting military officers in India for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre has been stopped or has never existed in your province, would you advise its reintroduction or introduction, as the case may be, and if the system should be introduced or reintroduced, to what extent, in your opinion, should it be adopted?—No.

9830 (23). Do you consider that such a system should be restricted to the recruitment of military officers, or extended to the recruitment of selected officers from other Indian Services?—See above answer.

9831 (24). What is your opinion of the system by which certain posts, ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service, are declared to be posts (ordinarily termed listed posts) to which members of the Provincial Civil Service can properly be appointed?—My opinion is that the system has not been very successful. Generally speaking, such appointments have been made when the officers are too old to adapt themselves readily to their new position. I think it essential

that men holding posts equivalent to those ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service should have their social position and surroundings as nearly as possible the same as those of Civilians.

9832 (25). Are you satisfied with the present rule which prescribes that Natives of India, other than members of the Provincial Civil Service or Statutory Civilians, may be appointed to one-quarter of the listed posts?—So far as I know, the rule has been rarely, if ever, applied in practice. But I see no harm in retaining the power.

9833 (26). Are you satisfied with the system by which most of the inferior listed posts are merged in the Provincial Civil Service?—Yes.

9834. (27). Is the class of posts listed suitable? If not, in what directions would you suggest any changes, and why?—Yes. But with regard to this question and the last, my personal knowledge and experience are very limited.

9835 (28). Please add such remarks as you may desire to offer on any points relating to the system of recruitment for Indian Civil Service posts which are not covered by your answers to the foregoing questions?—I should like to add to my answer to question (7) as follows:—If, for any reason, it is considered impracticable to accept the recommendation I have made to hold a supplementary examination in India, I would strongly urge that facilities should be liberally offered to Indian students to proceed to England with a view to compete for the Indian Civil Service. Such facilities should consist (*i*) of scholarships sufficient to defray all necessary expenses, and (*ii*) reasonable prospects of obtaining other suitable employment in India, if unsuccessful at the competitive examination. But I would strongly insist that every person appointed to the Indian Civil Service should have the benefit of at least two years' training in England.

9836 (29). Do you consider that candidates recruited for the Indian Civil Service by open competitive examination should undergo a period of probation before being admitted to the Service?—Yes.

9837 (30). If so, how long, in your opinion, should this period be, and what course of study should be prescribed for the probationers?—The present period of one year and the course of study now prescribed seem to be suitable, except in the cases covered by my next answer. If the suggestion

made in my next answer be accepted, it may be necessary to extend this period to two years.

9838 (31). Do you consider that any differentiation is necessary between the course of study for probationers who are Natives of India and the course prescribed for other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? If so, please state the special arrangements that you recommend?—If Natives of India are appointed by examination in India, they should be under probation for two years; such period being spent in England, partly at a residential English University and partly in London, the latter portion being employed in a study (*a*) of the procedure of English courts, and (*b*) of the practice and procedure of the London County Council and similar institutions.

9839 (32). Do you consider that the probationers' course of instruction could best be spent in England or in India? Is your answer equally applicable to the case of Natives of India and of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty in England?—Yes, I would prefer candidates selected in England to spend their period of probation in India; but I am afraid it would be idle to expect young Englishmen to come out to India without being absolutely certain of their appointment.

9840 (33). Do you think it desirable to start, at some suitable place in India, a college for the training of probationers of the Indian Civil Service, and possibly of other Indian Services recruited in England?—No.

9841 (34). Do you think it desirable that each Provincial Government should arrange for the training of probationers by suitable courses of instruction for the whole or portions of the first two years of service at some suitable centre?—I take it that by *probationers* it is intended to designate those who have passed their probation and joined the Service in India. If so, my answer is that such instruction should be given as now at different centres, under selected district officers, each Provincial Government making its own arrangements for the purpose.

9842 (36). Do you consider that there has been any deterioration in the knowledge of the Indian languages possessed by members of the Indian Civil Service? If so, what are the causes? Are you satisfied that European members of the Indian Civil Service attain to an adequate proficiency in the study of the Indian languages, and, if not, how could this

best be remedied?—I believe there has been. The causes are in my opinion chiefly three in number: (*i*) more Indians speak English now than before, and the necessity of speaking the vernaculars is not so great, and (*ii*) frequent transfers, and (*iii*) greater facilities for spending their leave out of India. I think the remedy lies in raising the standard of the departmental examinations in vernaculars and in making promotion depend to a larger extent on proficiency in the same.

9843 (37). Please give your views as to what steps (if any) are necessary to improve the proficiency in the knowledge of law of members of the Indian Civil Service distinguishing between recommendations applicable to all officers and to officers selected for the Judicial branch?—The standard of the examination now held should be raised, so far as all officers are concerned. So far as officers selected for the Judicial branch are concerned, they should be selected after not more than five years of service. After such selection they should be attached to the High Court for a period of (say) one year, during which the Chief Justice should make arrangements for their seeing the actual working of the Courts. Afterwards they should discharge the duties of Munsifs for a period of about two years, next those of a Subordinate Judge for another period of two years. They should also try criminal cases (original for some time), and after which alone they should be considered as qualified to act as District and Sessions Judges.

9844 (38). Do you recommend any special course of study in law in India for officers selected for the Judicial branch?—No. Practical training more than mere theoretical study is what I venture to think is necessary.

9845 (39). Do you recommend any special training in subordinate judicial posts in India for officers selected for the Judicial branch? If so, please give details?—Please see my answer to question (37).

9846 (40). Is any differentiation desirable in a system of training after appointment in India between members of the Indian Civil Service who are Natives of India and other natural-born subjects of His Majesty?—No.

9847 (41). If you have recommended the introduction of any scheme of direct recruitment in India for Natives of India, whether in lieu of, or supplementary to, the system of recruitment in England, please state what system of proba-

**tion and training you recommend for officers so recruited.**—Please see my answer to questions (28) and (31).

9848 (42). Is any differentiation necessary in regard to the probation and training of members of the Indian Civil Service who are Natives of India as between persons of unmixed Indian descent, of mixed European and Indian descent, and of unmixed European descent?—No.

9849 (45). Do you consider that the exchange compensation allowance introduced in 1893, eligibility for which depends on nationality or domicile, should be abolished, and, if so, under what conditions? Should such abolition apply to officers already employed or be restricted to future entrants?—I should abolish it as to all future entrants, increasing the salaries to a reasonable extent.

9850 (46). If abolition is recommended with compensation in the form of increased salaries, what is your opinion regarding the grant of a similar increase of salary to those members of the service who now draw no exchange compensation allowance?—Similar increase of salary should be granted to all members, irrespective of nationality or domicile.

9851 (47). Turning now to the case of the Statutory Civilians and officers of the Provincial Civil Services holding listed posts, do you approve of the arrangement by which they draw salary approximately at the rate of two-thirds of the pay drawn in the same posts by members of the Indian Civil Service?—Yes.

*Written answers relating to the Provincial Civil Service.*

9852 (51). Please refer to Government of India Resolution No. 1046—1058, dated the 19th August, 1910, defining the general conditions which should govern recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service, and reproduced as Appendix A. Are these conditions suitable, or have you any recommendations to make for their alteration?—I think that after reserving a certain number of appointments for nomination, the rest should be thrown open to competition, as before.

9853 (52). In particular, are the rules for the recruitment of the Provincial Civil Service in force in your province suitable, or have you any recommendations to make for their alteration? As above.

9854 (53). Do you consider that recruitment for a Provincial Civil Service should ordinarily be restricted to residents of the province to which it belongs?—No.

9855 (54). Are all classes and communities duly represented in your Provincial Civil Service? Do you consider that this is desirable, and what arrangements do you recommend to secure this object?—Any inequalities in this respect may be remedied by the power of nomination to a certain number of posts. But I do not attach any great importance to this, as I am of opinion that efficiency should be the primary and essential qualification.

9856 (55). Are you satisfied with the existing arrangements for the training and probation of officers appointed to the Provincial Civil Service? Yes.

9857 (56). Do you consider that the numbers of officers authorized for the various grades of your Provincial Civil Service are satisfactory? If not, please state your views?—I believe that there are too few posts in the superior grades. The number should be increased.

9858 (57). To what extent are the functions of the officers Executive and Judical branches of your Provincial Civil Service differentiated? Is any change desirable, and, if so, in what direction?—If this refers to the much discussed question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, I will only say that I am entirely in favour of such separation.

9859 (58). Are you satisfied with the present designation "the Provincial Civil Service"?—Yes.

9860 (59). Do you accept as suitable the principle recommended by the Public Service Commission of 1886-87, and since followed, that the conditions of the Provincial Civil Services as regards salary should be adjusted by a consideration of the terms necessary to secure locally the desired qualifications in the officers appointed? If not, what principle do you recommend?—I think due regard should also be had to the salary which is necessary to enable the officer to live according to his position. The present scale of salaries was fixed many years ago and to my mind urgently requires revision.

9861 (60). Are the existing rates of pay and grading in the Provincial Civil Service of your province adequate to secure the desired qualifications in the officers appointed? If not what alterations do you recommend?—Please see previous answer.

9862 (61). Do you approve of the arrangement by which officers of the Provincial Civil Service holding listed posts

draw salary approximately at the rate of two-thirds of the pay drawn in the same posts by members of the Indian Civil Service?—Yes.

MR. S. P. SINHA, called and examined.

9863 (*Chairman*). Would you be good enough to say what public posts you have occupied?—I have been Standing Counsel to the Government of India; I was Advocate-General of Bengal, and I was also for a short time, for about a year and a half, Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

9864. In reply to the questions you state that you do not consider that the institution of a system of simultaneous examinations in India and England would be practicable under the present conditions?—Without qualifications and conditions imposed: I have pointed out that I agree with the condition that was laid down by the Secretary of State when he sent out the resolution of the House of Commons with regard to simultaneous examinations, that there must be provision made for an adequate number of Europeans in the Civil Service. Without that provision I am not prepared to recommend simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service.

9865. The reason why you are not prepared to advocate simultaneous examinations is because you cannot see any definite assurance of maintaining that European proportion which you regard as essential to the administration of India? —I confess I think practically there is every assurance that there will never be a preponderant majority of Indians, having regard to the character of the examination, and having regard to the intellectual calibre, firstly, of the European candidates, and secondly, of the Indian candidates. But fears have been constantly expressed, and have been expressed very freely, that it might have the effect of admitting a larger number of Indians than is desirable. It is with reference to that, and to the bare possibility of such a state of things, that I say there must be a definite assurance with regard to it merely to allay the fears and anxieties which, in my opinion, are absolutely groundless.

9866. However remote may be the prospect of a large influx of Indians, you consider it important to fix a proportion now?—I think I would.

9867. Under your alternative scheme, you recommend that in the future the proportion should be one-third of Indians to two-thirds of Europeans?—Quite so.

9868. That means that there should be automatically one-third of Indians recruited into the Indian Civil Service, to two-thirds of Europeans?—I have added a proviso, namely, that there must be a minimum qualification laid down. If, as a matter of fact, there are no Indians who satisfy that provision, then there cannot be.

Assuming that in any year they do not come up to that qualification, the proportion would be less by that number?—Yes, less by that number.

9870. Your proposal is that there should be first of all an ordinary examination at home, and assuming that the full one-third of Indians were not successful at that examination, that there should be at some subsequent period an examination held on similar lines in India, or on as similar lines as possible, to enable the proportion of one-third to be made up?—Quite so.

9871. Those who were unsuccessful at the examination in England would be eligible along with other Indians who had not gone to England to take part in the competitive examination in India?—They would.

9872. The remainder would be made up on a competitive basis in India?—Yes.

9873. I take it that those who had succeeded in England would be regarded as senior to those who had succeeded in India?—Yes, that is so.

9874. Their places in the list would be higher than those who would be admitted at the subsequent examination?—I should like to point out that, according to my scheme, so far as the question of pay and position and so forth is concerned, they should all be absolutely equal.

9875. You do not apprehend that those who have entered the service through this separate examination in India would be regarded as in any way inferior to those who had been successful at the open competition in England?—I do not think so, because I think their merits will really be considered later on; I mean, not so much with reference to the examination as with reference to the work that they do.

9876. You do not think there would be any feeling with regard to the examination, but that the men would be judged by their work?—That is my opinion.

9877. What do you think would be the effect of this separate examination in India: do you think that Indians would go and compete in England, or not?—I did feel some apprehension that it might have the effect, at any rate, of discouraging, if I may say so, Indians from undertaking the visit to England for the purpose of appearing at the examination there; but on the whole, inasmuch as the examination here is to be supplemental, I think there will always be a sufficient number of young men who would be willing to take the risk and to appear at the examination in England, because, under my scheme, they have preference. If they get in there they get in at once. It is only a sort of supplement—the examination held in India.

9878. You would agree that the test in England should be a more severe one than the test in India, at any rate for some time to come?—I believe so. I have no reason to think that it will be anything to the contrary.

9879. With regard to the conduct of the examination in India, who would you suggest should be the examiners?—I should prefer that the examination should be held under the auspices of the Civil Service Commissioners in England.

9880. And would you desire that the examination should be, as far as possible, on all fours, with regard to the standard, with the examination in England?—Exactly.

9881. You would not suggest that any subject of examination particularly relative to India should be introduced with the syllabus of the examination in India? I do not think so. I think there is less necessity for it with reference to the examination in India than with reference to the examination in England.

9882. You suggest different terms of probation for men recruited in India and in England respectively, do you not?—Yes.

9883. You suggest that those who have passed the examination in India should go to England: you regard that as essential?—Yes. I think the candidates selected in India should go to England.

9884. For two years' probation?—Yes, for two years' probation.

9885. For study at a University and at the Bar?—Not so much for study at the Bar, but for study at a University, and for learning at institutions connected with Local Government.

9886. You set store upon that second point?—Yes, I do.

9887. Have you considered how such training could be carried out?—I cannot say that I have. I have attempted to find it out, but I have not succeeded.

9888. You suggest that the European candidate might spend a part of his probation in India?—Yes: but I say that that would be a counsel of perfection. I do not quite see how a probationer can be induced to come out to India with the risk of his not being taken into the service. I have said that I do not think it would work at all. I think the practical measure will be to leave things as they are as far as European candidates are concerned: that is to say, two years' probation.

9889. And thereby obviate any difficulty with regard to the relative seniority of Indians and Europeans as tested by the aggregate of the preliminary and final examination?—Yes.

9890. Do you set store by the European Civilian being trained in the customs and habits of India prior to his taking up active work?—That, again, would be a counsel of perfection. If it is to be insisted upon in the way Mr. Strong was insisting, it would be very good; but I do not see how we could stand the expense of having two years' probation in England and practically two years' training without doing any work at all in India. I think they must be trained as they go along, as they are now.

9891. I notice that you do not propose a separate method of recruitment for the Executive and the Judicial branches?—That is to say, if my recommendation with regard to the proportion being set apart for Indians is accepted; otherwise, I should give a different answer from that.

9892. Assuming your scheme to be carried out, you would suggest that a proportion of District and Sessions Judgeships should be reserved for barristers and vakils of the High Court?—I would not say "reserved." If my scheme with regard to the Civil Service is accepted, I would not then say "reserved"; I would only have liberty retained for the Government to be able to appoint vakils and barristers to these posts.

9893. Would you suggest any proportion?—It would be necessarily small to start with. I would rather not suggest a definite proportion.

9894. Under this scheme, would there be some risk of creating uncertainty in the Indian Civil Service?—There would be some risk.

9895. Your scheme entails the abolition of the listed posts?—No; that is to say, if the proportion which I have ventured to urge is accepted.

9896. But if that porportion was not accepted you would then retain the listed-posts system?—Yes, because it would give us Indians a little more in the way of sharing the administration.

9897. Do you think that a proposal to abolish listed posts would tend to discourage the Provincial Civil Service?—It would have its compensations. There would be the greater possibility of Indians getting into the higher service; and though it might not be very acceptable to men who are already in the Provincial Civil Service (and provision must be made with regard to this) I do not think it would generally be considered unsatisfactory. I do not think it will affect the Provincial Civil Service in the long run.

9898. You suggest that the system hitherto in force has not been very successful as the officers selected for the posts have reached so advanced an age?—Yes.

9899. Could not that evil be remedied by some system of selection?—It might, but I have a distrust of systems of selection. I think it might lead to favouritism, as it very often does.

9900. You would prefer the system of promotion by seniority to promotion by selection?—Yes, as a rule.

9901. In default of this scheme which we have been discussing, you suggest as an alternative the grant of scholarships to encourage more Indians to go to England for examination, and to give them a better chance of success?—Yes.

9902. Have you thought out any scheme for the award of these scholarships?—I have thought of it, but I cannot say that it is quite a scheme. It is perfectly certain that the scheme which was recommended during Lord Lawrence's Government erred on the side of recommending too few scholarships. Anything like that will not meet the require-

ments I have in view. A system of scholarships, in order to have any appreciable effect, will have to be on a fairly large scale. For example, I should say about 100 scholarships for the whole of India, which, of course, would be expensive. But that is a matter which I have not considered, and I do not know how far we can bear that.

9903. You have not thought out the details of any scheme? —No.

9904. But assuming that you have a round number of scholarships, whatever the number may be, would they be for the whole of India, or would you allocate them to provinces? —There, again, that is a matter which I have not thought out.

9905. But it is rather an important point, is it not?—Probably it would have to be allocated to provinces.

9906. In answer to question (28) you say, "If, for any reason, it is considered impracticable to accept the recommendation I have made to hold a supplementary examination in India, I would strongly urge that facilities should be liberally offered to Indian students to proceed to England with a view to compete for the Indian Civil Service. Such facilities should consist of scholarships sufficient to defray all necessary expenses and reasonable prospects of obtaining other suitable employment in India, if unsuccessful at the competitive examination'?—Yes.

9907. What kind of employment would you suggest should be opened to them?—The Provincial Services.

9908. How would you allocate such employment: would you institute an Appointments Board?—There would be a certain number of appointments in the Provincial Service according to my scheme which will not be made as the result of competition, though that number, I suggest, should be very small. These men ought to have a preferential claim to any such appointments that may be going.

9909. They would automatically have the first claim on those posts?—Yes. There are other services which I ought, perhaps, to mention in the Financial Department. There are appointments in the Financial Department which are very well-paid appointments, and which are considered good appointments so far as Indians are concerned. They might get some of those. There are not many; but there are generally some every year.

9910. You would give an opening in departments other than the Provincial Civil Service?—Yes.

9911. As regards training in the Judicial branch, you say that the selection should be made to the Judicial branch after five years' service, and that the selected candidates should spend the next five years in the High Court or as Munsifs and Subordinate Judges?—Yes. And also in the High Court itself under Judges, if the Judges would undertake to show them the practical working of the High Court.

9912. Would you suggest that they should have study leave to go to England?—I have not got much faith in study leave.

9913. Why?—There is no certainty that a man who has been working hard for so many years in India, when he gets the chance of getting home, would employ the few months when he gets there in working hard at books of law. I do not think it is reasonable to expect that.

9914. There would be no one in control over him to ensure that he does his best work?—They would not utilise their time for the best purpose for which the leave would be granted. It would probably be a waste of time.

9915. Could not good work be guaranteed by some means? —It might; but the examination would have to be fairly stiff; because the examinations in law, as far as the Inns of Court are concerned, are not very difficult, and if that is the kind of standard which would be laid down, it would be easy for men with a very little study to pass an examination of that kind.

9916. You would be satisfied that they would obtain all the necessary legal training in India?—Quite so.

9917. Whilst holding posts of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges, what salary do you suggest that they should receive? —The grade pay of their service. It would be worth paying for good Judges.

9918. (*Sir Murray Hammick.*) You have expressed an opinion that you think it is a groundless apprehension that if simultaneous examinations were instituted there is a chance in the immediate future—in the next few years at all events—of Indians getting a larger proportion of these appointments than you think advisable: you think it is groundless to apprehend that at present?—I have endeavoured to make it clear that I do not share that apprehension myself. But

there are many people who do have that apprehension, and I think it is only right that it should be allayed.

9919. Do you not think that as soon as simultaneous examinations are instituted there will probably be a great demand in India for the curriculum to be modified in order to give Indians a fairer chance of obtaining successes at the examination, such, for instance, as increasing the value of the marks given for Sanskrit, Arabic, Indian Law, Indian History, Indian Geography and probably the vernaculars? Do you not think that that is likely to result?—It is possible that such a demand may be made; but if made, it would have to be resisted.

9920. You think it would be very difficult to resist?—I do not know that.

9921. As regards your service that you propose, you would keep your candidates exactly in the same list as the existing Civil Service candidates are placed in?—Yes.

9922. Have you ever thought of a scheme under which you could separate off a larger number of the appointments belonging to the Civil Service which are now treated as listed, and make a separate service of them, recruiting them in India by a system of examination very much similar to yours, and allowing these appointments to be placed in special lists, so that candidates should go from the bottom to the top in the same way as they do in the Indian Civil Service list: have you ever thought of a scheme of that sort?—I do not know that I have thought of that particular scheme. But I am entirely against a separate service for Indians and for Europeans.

9923. The reason being that you do not think that if you had a separate service of any kind for recruits in India, you could ever give it the same status as is held by the Indian Civil Service?—I quite agree.

9924. With reference to your answer to question (24), you say, "I think it is essential that men holding posts equivalent to those ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service should have their social position and surroundings as nearly as possible the same as those of Civilians." As regards Bengal, is it not a fact that the average man who joins the Provincial Service differs very little in class, social position, and status from the Indian who goes home and passes the examination in England; there is very little distinction?—That is so.

9925. Do you think that by simultaneous examinations of the character which you propose one result would be that you would get any different class into your Indian Civil Service from the class which now goes into the Provincial Civil Service?—I do not know that we are at one with regard to this. The position of the persons who get into the Indian Civil Service and the persons who get into the Provincial Civil Service is exactly the same before they get into the service, but the position is very different when they do get into these respective services.

9926. You mean that the position in society up-country and in the mufassal of Bengal of the Indian Civil Servant is distinctly different from the position taken up by the man who is in the Provincial Service?—Yes, and also in the Presidency towns. I mean that everywhere the position is very different. He is looked up to very much more than the man in the Provincial Service. It carries a higher social status.

9927. That is what I wanted to get from you. You have said you do not much believe in sending Civil Service officers home in order to train them for the Judicial Service, because you think that probably they would not do the requisite amount of work there in the study of law; but in your answer to question (38) you say distinctly that "practical training more than mere theoretical study is what I venture to think is necessary." That rather differs from the opinion we have heard expressed in a good many places by many witnesses that the Indian civil officer who takes over the civil work late in his service, while he understands procedure and understands administration, has a knowledge of law which is extremely small; and is it not really the reading of books of law, the books which contain the principles of law, which is the important part of the training which should be given to the Civil Service officer who wishes to take over this work?—That is not my opinion. I think that senior civilian officers, when they are entrusted with civil judicial duties, have had no training, either theoretically or practically, in matters of civil law; it is not to be wondered at that they should be found wanting. To my mind the wonder is that they are as good as they are.

9928. The instance I had in view was that of my late colleague in Madras, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, who was Judge of the High Court. I asked him to give a young Judge who was going home on furlough for two years a scheme of study in England. He gave him the names of a series of books

which were entirely a study of theoretical law, and he told him, "If you will only read these books, and master them, you will have every right to expect that you will yourself become a first-rate Judge"?—I do not agree with that; but I quite agree so far as the books which should be studied are concerned, so that a man might become a perfect lawyer by studying those.

9929. You would sooner see the study confined to the courts of this country?—Yes, I think that is more practical.

9930. (*Sir Valentine Chirol.*) If your scheme were adopted, would the Indian candidate who has failed in London be able to compete again for the Indian Civil Service in the examination conducted in India?—Yes, there would be no bar. Just as if he fails in the first year, he can try the next year.

9931. Would not his position be rather a difficult one if he came out here and passed into the Civil Service through this door, having failed to pass through the London door?—As I say, I do not think in the long run people will remember which door he got in through. If he got into the Civil Service, and did good work, he would be looked up to as a member of the Indian Civil Service, and he would have the same position as the others.

9932. You propose that a certain number should pass in through the examinations here: they will be drawn from the same classes from which the members of the Provincial Service are now drawn, and afterwards get listed posts?—Yes.

9933. Do you think that their position will be regarded in the same light as a superior position by the men now in the Provincial Civil Service, as the position of those who passed in London?—I think my previous answer applies to that also. If they get in here and then go to England and come back as full-fledged members of the Indian Civil Service, their position will be considered higher than that of a Provincial Civil Service man who, probably, may be his brother.

9934. But you do not think, on the other hand, that the position of the Provincial Civil Service man, however admirable and conspicuous the service may be which he rendered now in the listed posts, would ever gain for him the same sort of recognition at the hands of the Indian public?—That is my experience.

9935. It is really the label you want?—I think it is more han that. In the first place, the man with a listed appoint-

ment does not get the same pay, and therefore cannot keep up the same position, and his surroundings are very often different by reason of the fact that he is admitted fairly late in life. He finds it difficult to adjust himself to the new surroundings.

9936. In answer to question (28) I see that you wish for reasonable prospects of obtaining other suitable employment in India. Would you tell us what is the proportion of candidates now going up for the Civil Service in London who fail and, having failed, are unable to find any suitable employment?—The number varies; but I think the average may be taken to be something like 20 candidates who go up every year for the Indian Civil Service. This year, I believe, it was much larger: I think it was between 40 and 50. I was there at the time, and I heard there was a very large number who had gone up. This year about seven or eight got in by reason of extraordinary circumstances; the rest did not get in, and I think it is likely that none of them will find employment, that is to say, find Government employment, when they come back.

9937. You restrict it to Government employment?—Quite so.

9938. Of course there are other fields of employment open to them?—For men of this class there is nothing but the Bar practically.

9939. There is journalism and literature?—Literature is not a very paying profession in this country.

9940. There is, of course, education?—Yes; but unless these men have taken good degrees, either in the Indian or in the English Universities, I think they would find it difficult to get employment even in private colleges; and with regard to Government colleges, for the employment that is offered to them, even if they get particularly good English degrees at Cambridge or Oxford, they are asked to begin at Rs. 150 a month or thereabouts, which of course is an impossible position.

9941. You do not think that with the method you propose as an alternative for encouraging a larger number of Indians to go to England and enter for the Civil Service examination, you could fairly expect to obtain that increase of the number of Indian members of the Indian Civil Service which you desire to see obtain by this modified system of simultaneous

examination ?—Something towards it: probably nearly as much. It may not be quite as much: it depends very much upon the number of scholarships offered.

9942. You would not be prepared to carry out this alternative scheme as worthy of being tried, before making the very much larger experiment of simultaneous examination with the modified conditions you have proposed?—Personally I would prefer the other thing to begin with, and, if that is found unsatisfactory in any way, to revert to this. This I propose only in case it is found absolutely impossible to accept my first recommendation.

9943. I think you agree that it is always very much easier to go one step further than to withdraw, which would be regarded as a retrograde step?—I think you are right, that there might be risks. If you begin at the first suggestion and that fails, and then go back upon that, it might be risky, no doubt.

9944. Whereas there would be no risk attaching to the tentative proposal you made ?—No risk, except that it will not give the satisfaction that the other one will.

9945. (*Mr. Abdur Rahim.*) I wish to know your opinion regarding the Judicial branch of the Provincial Service. Do the men who are doing the work of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges do their work satisfactorily ?—I think extremely satisfactorily.

9946. I should also like to know what you have to say regarding those members of the Provincial Service who are holding now the listed posts, the District Judges' places: what is your experience of their work ?—I believe they do their work very well.

9947. I believe you said there ought to be no alteration as regards the pay; two-thirds pay of the Provincial men who are appointed District Judges and District Magistrates: you approve of that arrangement, I think. Does it not strike you that men doing the same work, discharging the same responsibilities, should draw the same pay; and, after all, it is not a very large number ?—Undoubtedly it would be better if they were paid higher rates. At the same time I think there ought to be a distinction between men who have been to Europe, and men who have not.

9948. But to counterpoise that consideration, in the case of men promoted to the listed posts, Provincial Service men, they have been a long time in the service, and have much less

time to enjoy the larger salaries: would not that be a counter-balancing consideration?—Yes, it would, in many respects.

9949. Is it not a fact that in this Presidency there is considerable feeling as regards the salary?—I cannot say that I have noticed any great feeling with regard to this matter. I am only speaking of Bengal.

9950. As regards recruitment for the judicial service, I understand that you would make an experiment of appointing men from the profession directly to District Judges' places?—Yes; I would like to add further that, if the scheme with regard to the examination for the Civil Service in India is not accepted, I think another alternative to the scheme of scholarships would be the separation of the judicial service altogether from the Indian Civil Service and a separate recruitment for that service.

9951. I should like to know, as regards the men that are available in the profession—both Barristers and Vakils—are there not men in your opinion at present available who are fit to be appointed as District Judges?—Yes.

9952. How many could you supply from your branch of the profession?—I think I could name a dozen men who would do very well as District Judges.

9953. And from the other branches of the profession?—There would probably be more.

9954. Would it, in your opinion, be a serious objection if men were appointed from the Bar who have had no previous administrative experience in regard to managing offices or looking after the work of District Munsifs or Subordinate Judges?—I do not think so. I do not think that, as regards men who have made their mark at the Bar—I assume that the men who will be appointed to such appointments as District Judges naturally will have made their mark—it will take them any time to make themselves familiar with managing an office of the kind that District Judges have to manage.

9955. A suggestion has been made that the work is of very great importance, and it is not possible to do that work satisfactorily, that is, the administrative portion of the work which falls to the lot of a District Judge?—I do not say it is not important.

9956. What I mean is this: it is stated that for this work to be satisfactorily discharged one should have previous

experience of an administrative character?—I do not agree with it. I think that the ability to manage the administrative part of it can soon be acquired by a man who has made his mark at the Bar.

9957. A further suggestion has been made that, as regards criminal work, you have to begin your experience as Magistrate in order to acquire efficiency in criminal work. Is it your opinion that the members of the Bar who have attained a certain status in the profession would not be able to discharge their duties as criminal Judges as efficiently as men who have been tried as Magistrates?—Not at all. Most of the men at the Bar begin their career with criminal cases.

9958. I take it that the men in fairly good practice have also to do a fair amount of criminal work?—Yes, I believe so. We do not specialise in this country to the extent they do in England.

9959. Would you tell me what is the ground for saying that only an experiment can be made at present with regard to the appointment of District Judges at present from the members of the Bar—a tentative experiment?—In the first place, the appointments have hitherto been held by members of the Indian Civil Service; and I for one personally am extremely unwilling to do anything that would impair the usefulness and the position of the Indian Civilian.

9960. You mean the Judicial branch?—Yes, there are appointments which the Indian Civilian has a right to aspire to now, and in the ordinary course of things they come to him. If so many appointments are taken away from the Indian Civil Service, there will be so much less inducement in the Indian Civil Service.

9961. You mean you will get less men to compete for the Civil Service?—Yes; because there are so many prizes taken away from the Service.

9962. But viewing it from the point of view of administration of justice, pure and simple, do you think an adequate number of appointments, if made from the Bar, would not be satisfactory?—I have every hope it would; but probably my mind is such that I always like to know first as to how it is going to work before starting a thing.

9963. But you would like to make an advance in that direction, I understand?—Yes.

9964. Then as regards the system of training for Judges, you say that an Indian Civil Servant might begin to specialise after five years' service here; that is what you suggest?—Yes.

9965. What will he be doing in these five years?—Settlement work, which, I think, is very essential, and also criminal work, trying original criminal cases and different kinds of administrative work, revenue and so on, that an ordinary Civilian has to do; there is plenty of work for them to do.

9966. Have you considered the subjects of the examination for the Civil Service?—You mean for the competitive examination?

9967. Yes?—I have.

9968. Would you, or would you not, like to add law and give higher marks for it generally?—I have suggested that it should be added.

9969. What I was suggesting was this: during the period of five years he might forget all the law that he learnt?—We expect him to read a little during that time.

9970. Do you think that while doing the work of a Settlement Officer he will have time to keep up the study of law?—I think so.

9971. Would you expect it ordinarily, I mean? —Well, provided he knew that his promotion in the Service will depend upon it.

9972. But you would make selection during the five years or at the end of the five years?—He has to pass a certain examination in law; and I have suggested that the character of that examination should be changed to this extent, that a greater knowledge of law should be acquired than at present is the case.

9973. That will be some inducement to him to study the law, but would it not, I suggest, be better that there should be separation or bifurcation from the very beginning of the service between the judicial and the executive?—There are certain kinds of work which every Civilian must learn, whether he is to be an executive officer or a judicial officer. Even as a Judge, I think, a knowledge of settlement work is of great use. I have heard it said by very eminent Judges that it is essential.

9974. You mean by settlement work trying revenue cases or settling revenues?—Settling revenues, settling rents. It makes him familiar with the whole system of land tenure of the country, apart from the knowledge of the people that he gets from doing that work.

9975. After five years would you place him for one year under the High Court?—Of course. when I mention five years I do not know if I insist on the five years, but a sufficient period to do the ordinary preliminary part. I have mentioned figures only tentatively, and do not pin my faith on the particular number of years that I have mentioned.

9976. I see that you are emphatically of opinion that there should be a separation of the executive and the judicial functions?—Yes.

9977. Is that on theoretical grounds or from your practical experience?—Both from practical experience and upon all that I have heard, read and seen.

9978. Is there a strong public opinion on the point here? —Yes.

9979. Do you know the scheme put forward by Sir Harvey Adamson as a sort of experimental measure?—Yes, I know.

9980. Has that been put into force?—I believe it was put into force in one or two districts, but I could not be certain about it. I believe it was; but. as a whole, it has not been put into operation yet.

9981. It is not in operation at all at present?—That is my impression. I should like to add, that is, I believe, because of the troublous times we have gone through lately, that that has not been put into operation.

9982. But is it your opinion that such a separation will, in an appreciable measure, tend to create any difficulty in dealing with troublous situation?—I do not think so.

9983. In your opinion there is no such apprehension? —No.

9984. As regards your method of recruitment, I should like to know this: whether here it is not the practice for the High Court to appoint District Munsifs?—Yes.

9985. There is no competitive examination for Munsifs? —No.

9986. Is there any reason why there should be any difference in the selection for the subordinate judiciary and the executive?—I do not know that there is. Personally I would prefer a competitive examination, though, of course, the older a man gets the harder it will be for him to pass the competitive examination.

9987. You propose a competitive examination for the Provincial Service, for the judiciary?—For entrance into the provincial judiciary and not for promotion.

9988. But for the appointment of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges?—Subordinate Judges are entirely appointed from Munsifs.

9989. By seniority?—Ordinarily so.

9990. Then about your District Munsifs?—I do not see why competitive examinations should not do well even for these; but I have no reason to think that the present system has, in any way, been found to be unsatisfactory.

9991. I think you have said on the other hand that it has worked very satisfactorily?—Yes; therefore, unless there be any reason for the change, no change should be made.

9992. You are very strong about the evils of selection; but these evils are not apparent in the present method of selecting District Munsifs?—No; that is so.

9993. I mean it is possible to have a properly constituted body like this to make selections even for the executive branch?—I do not know that there is a body to select for the judicial posts. I think it is more or less one Judge that does it. I do not know if it is similar to what is called the English Committee; whether it is a body, or whether it is one Judge who presides over it, I am not quite sure. But, in any case, I do not think that there is much selection. I think it is more or less according to the order of merit tempered by the admission of people highly recommended

9994. I suppose that those who recommend are mostly Judges—District Judges or High Court Judges—who know the work of the candidates? Yes, I believe others do it, too; people who have some influence with the Judge in whose hands the appointment is.

9995. I see you are emphatically against what you call "class representation" in the Civil Service as well as in the Provincial Service?—Yes.

What I wish to know is this: if you have a minimum qualification and have the standard high enough, is there much evil to be apprehended: supposing you require that they should be graduates in Honours, second class, or a qualification of that nature?—I am sorry to say that I think it will lead to a system of favouritism as it has very often done in the past.

9997. But it will be confined to a narrow field if you have a high standard of qualification?—No doubt the evil will be minimized if minimum qualifications are laid down; but there will be the evil still.

9998. But I am asking you to consider this: if you have a mere absolute competitive test, say for the Provincial Service, throughout India, in your scheme the possibility is that certain important provinces will go un-represented and also certain communities?—I doubt that myself.

9999. But supposing that were so, is that not also an evil to be taken into account?—Yes, it would be an evil; but I doubt if the evil, if it is one now, and if it at all exists, in shutting out different classes would continue. But I do not think that any class will be shut out; and if it does shut out people now in any particular class, I think it will very soon right itself.

10000. You had the competitive examination for the Provincial Service here for some time. Do you know if ever a Muhammadan got into it?—I do not know; you may know.

10001. You may take it from me none got in?—You may be right.

10002. Still you know there are several Muhammadans in the Provincial Service discharging their duties quite satisfactorily?—Yes, quite possibly.

10003. Now you take the United Provinces and the Punjab. If you have a competitive examination, pure and simple, it is possible that you would shut out these two new provinces?—You are talking of the Indian Civil Service?

10004. Take the Indian Civil Service?—I do not think that any question of race or class representation should arise with regard to the Indian Civil Service.

10005. What I am trying to put to you is: if you get qualified men, is it not an advantage; would it not make the administration more effective, inasmuch as it would be

more popular, if you have the important provinces and communities duly represented?—There we are talking of the principle of competitive examinations, and I believe that, recruited as it is, it is the only system that does not lend itself to abuses, and it is a system which ought to be applied so long and so far as it can to all services. That is the view which I maintain.

10006. (*Mr. Madge.*) You have just admitted that an English Indian Civilian acquires knowledge in his earlier years which is very valuable to him as a Judge; but in your answer to question (37) you say that five years might be the period at which bifurcation might begin?—I believe so; he will go on acquiring the knowledge and the experience that we are all agreed are essential after the five years also. He would not stop acquiring knowledge and experience of the country after five years.

10007. Then he would be more valuable as a Judge to the general public if the bifurcation period did not take place till later than that?—You mean he would go on improving indefinitely? I did not mean that.

10008. What I mean is; it is a question of the period rather than pure bifurcation—where the division should take place?—I think I follow. There is a certain amount of special work to be learnt now by a man who is going to be a Sessions Judge. We have got only limited time at our disposal to deal with it, and we must make the best of it. The only way to do it is to give five years for general work and then specialize for the work of District Judge. If we had unlimited time, then I would give more time for the preliminary part of it.

10009. In what respect is the time limited?—I mean that a man can only serve a certain number of years. By the time he serves as a District Judge, according to my scheme, he will have put in more than ten years' service; and in order to get the best of his service as District Judge, I think we ought to have him at least fifteen years as such. So, if we put in a preliminary period of ten years or fifteen years—that is one of the evils of the present system—when he is just beginning to be very useful as a Judge, he retires.

10010. You are aware, of course, that in the circular sent round by the Bengal Government to public societies, nine years were mentioned as the period which such a scheme might have?—I was not aware of that.

10011. I will ask you whether, with reference to the importance you attach to the subject, you would not value the opinion of a responsible Government that had considered the subject, that it was not wholly in favour of the separation, and that if it was to take place it should take place at nine years for securing what you admit to be a great advantage —a certain amount of experience of settlement and revenue work and knowledge of the people and that class of facts? —I would attach the greatest weight to the opinion of the Local Government undoubtedly.

10012. You are aware that cases have occasionally or rarely arisen in which even at a much later period transfers have taken place?—I suppose so.

10013. With reference to facts of that kind, would you or would you not leave the matter in the discretion of a responsible Government than have a hard-and-fast rule which might result in unpleasant consequences?—I do not know it would result in unpleasant consequences; but I think a hard-and-fast rule of that kind will be of use as regards the particular period. As I said, I should attach the greatest possible weight to the opinion of the Local Government who have probably studied the question very much more than I have.

10014. You have told us that literature, in which you include journalism, does not hold out very great prospects to the young men of this country. Do you think that it is owing to either of these two facts—that the system of education has been defective in one respect or another, that it has not produced either literature on the one side or the class of people on the other capable of appreciating literature?—I think it is probably due to the fact that there is not a sufficiently large reading public. What is the use of having books or papers if there are no people to read them?

10015. I notice that you have strong objection to the introduction of any racial discrimination in respect of appointments; but, accentuating what Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim just said, suppose there were, not only amongst us, but amongst Pathans and men in the North-West Frontier Province, and also amongst the domiciled Anglo-Indian community, men who gave distinct marks of character and such qualities as would make them very good officers, do you think that, if things were working against them in other ways, the mere fact of their not passing the competitive examination, which may be a purely literary test, works unfairly against them?

—Well, the things that you mention are so difficult to determine, and it is so difficult to settle as to who is to determine them if they are capable of being determined, that I think the safe way is to have the intellectual test. I believe that has been found to be so in England, and I do not know that it does not apply equally to this country.

10016. May we not take it that, with regard to the application of the test in England, as regards Englishmen, it assumes the possession of a number of qualities which the test does not itself really bring out, and as regards Indian candidates it assumes that they are living amidst the advantages in England for a certain period, advantages which are denied to people in this country?—I have no doubt that Indians are at a disadvantage with regard to it; but I do not know whether there is any other system that you can apply and that would not lead to abuse—gross abuse to my mind.

10017. Have you much acquaintance with men of the domiciled community?—I know a few; I have friends amongst them.

10018. A man brought up entirely in this country?—Yes, I believe so. Brought up in this country, passed the University examinations here and had been to Europe afterwards: I know men of that class.

10019. According to a statement elsewhere, a considerable number of them, though not in proportion to the whole number of the community, yet a comparatively large number of men have been produced in this country who have been, after retirement, used by the British Government abroad. Do you think that that class of persons is comparatively small in this country as far as your experience goes?—I am not prepared to give an opinion about that; all I say is that I have known men amongst the domiciled community—some of them very good men both intellectually and morally.

10020. In your answer to question (59), you say the "present scale of salary was fixed many years ago, and to my mind urgently requires revision." Would you be prepared to recommend a *pro rata* rise all round?—Yes, I would.

10021. (*Mr. Macdonald.*) Your scheme which is outlined in your answers to the earlier questions would give a very considerable advantage to Indian students going to England; would it not?—Yes.

10022. They would have two chances, and they would have a certainty if they get up to a certain standard of the examination?—Yes, they would.

10023. Have you thought of a scheme very much like your own but slightly different, viz., supposing there were 60 vacancies to be filled in for the Indian Civil Service in one year. 20 should be filled by simultaneous examination in India and 40 by an examination in England?—I have thought of that also.

10024. Do any objections occur to you to that scheme which are not alleged as regards your own?—No; on the contrary, I think the scheme which you mention has some advantages which my scheme has not, but personally I prefer my own scheme for this reason: I think it is very necessary for us in our present state of development that more and more Indians should go to Europe—for education I mean.

10025. A part of the rival scheme is that, when Indians have passed the examination here, they should go to England to undergo a probationary period. Does that meet your objection?—Not wholly; under my scheme, they have to go earlier and stay longer.

10026. Your scheme contemplates, I think, with reference to that point, that the Indian students should leave at a pretty early age. I am thinking of the scholarship section of your scheme?—No; I contemplate that they should leave, after they take their degree here; in fact, it is practically graduates only that will compete for these scholarships, and that would give them at least 2 years in England before they compete for the Indian Civil Service.

10027. When do they graduate?—About 20.

10028. That is what they can do in Bengal, is it?—Yes, as a matter of fact they could do it earlier, but there is a restriction placed upon the age of matriculation candidates and you could not matriculate before you are 16, and it takes 4 years before you can graduate—16 *plus* 4, a man must be 20 before he can get his degree.

10029. Then your scheme would be that men of 20 should go to England, should stay there 2 years preparing for the examination and then, if successful, stay another 2 years undergoing probation; that is, your man will have 4 years in England against 2 years which the man under the other scheme suggested would have?—Yes.

10030. And you think that difference is a very valuable one from the point of view of the efficiency of the Indian officer?—Yes; efficiency as a whole.

10031. The governing efficiency and the administrative capacity of the man when he comes out?—Quite so.

10032. Have you heard it stated that the present examination imposes such a nervous strain upon the Indian student that it permanently injures him?—I have heard it stated with regard to students generally, both Indian and English, if you mean the Indian Civil Service.

10033. Yes, I am going to put another question afterwards. You had better separate them. First of all, what about Indian students?—To tell you the truth I have not heard it stated with regard to Indian youths at all.

10034. You have not heard that statement?—No.

10035. Have you heard it stated with regard to English youths?—Yes, I have.

10036. That the mental strain, the grinding, the attendance at Wren's, and the other processes they have got to go through to enable them to get the necessary number of marks, have really affected and injured the nervous system of the English candidate?—I have heard that it renders them stupid for the first two years after they come out.

10037. But you have not heard of it regarding Indian students?—No, I have not, probably because I have not talked about it. I have talked to English students and English parents, and that is what I heard from them.

10038. In answer to question (9), you say that two-thirds of the Indian Civil Service might be recruited at the moment, at any rate, from Europeans, that is what is known as the irreducible European minimum, and you give one-third to Indians. Do you agree with a statement to this effect from your knowledge of the Bengal Service, that the number of these posts filled by Europeans, that is, the Indian Civil Service posts, has now been reduced in Bengal to about the minimum that is necessary to secure the maintenance of the British character of the administration?—I do not agree.

10039. Have you known any districts which you would classify as important being under the control of Indian officers?—Not recently.

10040. Have you ever had occasion to consider the meaning of that and the cause of that?—I have heard it stated as a grievance by my Indian friends in the Civil Service that they have not been placed in charge of important districts.

10041. Did they accept the view that that is owing to their incapacity?—They did not.

10042. Have you had any reason for making up your own mind on the other subject? I do not want you to answer it if you do not like?—Yes, I have my own opinion.

10043. Would you like to give it to us?—I see no reason why the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service that I have in my mind should not be placed in charge of important districts.

10044. You think there is no reason?—No.

10045. Do you think that the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service get the same chance of acquiring general experience in administration and government that the English members—the British members of the Indian Civil Service—get?—If they are kept out of important districts, they do not.

10046. You just turn to a germane point. When in answer to question (24) you refer to the difference in social status between men who have been moved up into the Indian Civil Service through the gateway of the Provincial Service and men who came into the Indian Civil Service through the gateway of examination, do you mean that there is some social system in this country which automatically stamps the man who passed into the Service through the examination as a superior man and the man who has come up from the Provincial Service as an inferior man?—I should hardly think that.

10047. Let me put a specific case. I understand that in the social part of his life in this country—in Government House—everybody has a number such as No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and so on, and if No. 3 is taken in before No. 2, there is risk of a riotous proceeding. Is that the custom, or is it not so in practice?—I think they set great store on the order of precedence.

10048. And that order of precedence is rigidly fixed?—Yes.

10049. Is it the case that this order of precedence is observed in private dinners and private functions?—I hardly think that.

10050. Not at all?—I think it is to some extent.

10051. The question I want to ask is: if a man comes up from the Provincial Service into the listed posts, is he regarded in that system of social precedence as an equal to a man who is in the same position, a man taken from the Indian Civil Service?—He is not taken as the social equal in the same way as the other man is.

10052. He is not put in the scheme of precedence?—He is not; but I cannot certify to it.

10053. Have you in the course of your experience come across any specific cases which show the undesirability of district officers exercising both judicial and executive functions?—I have.

10054. Without asking you to give any specific case, may I ask you to describe in general terms what that undesirability is. Would you give us a sort of type instance?—A judicial officer, a subordinate judicial officer, who very often tries a criminal case—in fact he generally tries criminal cases—being under the executive head the District Magistrate, who probably has taken part in directing the prosecution, is under the influence of the District Magistrate; and whether he is directly influenced or not, very often he does things which he thinks will please his superior officer, though if he were left unfettered in the exercise of his judicial discretion, he would act quite differently.

10055. And you wish to tell the Commission that the typical instance that you give is more or less common?—I would not say it is common, but it is done often, I should think; and it has a very injurious effect and it produces an impression with regard to the administration of justice that is deplorable.

10056. That is the evil of the union. Then, I think, you made some statement about the advantages of judicial officers knowing settlement work and the fixing of rents and so on; and that is, to a certain extent, an advantage now?—Yes.

10057. Have you made up your mind, after balancing the advantages with the disadvantages, upon which side the balance really lies?—That does not affect the separation of the judicial and the executive.

10058. Well, it was only an opinion I wanted to know. Have you formed any opinion? Do you get an officer exer-

cising both functions?—The same officer is not the judicial head of the district. Probably you have not got present in your mind the distinction between the civil judicial head and the criminal judicial head if I may so call it—the District Judge and the District Magistrate. It is the District Judge with regard to whose training I have ventured to make certain suggestions; but so far as the District Magistrate is concerned, I have made none.

10059. The District Magistrate is the Collector?—Yes.

10060. He may ultimately become a District Judge? Ordinarily he does not.

10061. But he passes into the judicial side, if he cares to select it?—He passes on to the executive side, in fact he has probably passed on to the executive side. He becomes a Commissioner of a Division, a member of the Board of Revenue and ultimately a Lieutenant-Governor.

10062. Have you any cases in this Presidency of Collectors passing to the judicial side?—Yes, because the selection is not made until he has had a chance probably of officiating as Collector. The selection between the executive and the judicial is made fairly late now. Under the present system, before the selection is made he probably has had executive charge of a district and thereby officiated as Collector; but if he chooses the executive he does not become District Judge at all.

10063. Not if he chooses the executive, but if he chooses the judicial?—Then he becomes the judicial head.

10064. Then he has had double experience; he has had his experience as Magistrate and he has had experience as revenue officer. A suggestion has been made that if he selects to become a Judge and to go on to the judicial branch, the experience which he has had as a Magistrate and as a revenue officer is so exceedingly valuable to him when he becomes a Judge that the separation of the two functions ought not to take place in the earlier period of his service?—I do not think it is at all an argument on the other side.

10065. You do not think it is an argument on the other?—I do not think so.

10066. I see from your answer to the Provincial Civil Service questions that you do agree that certain appointments

should be reserved for nomination and that in the making of nominations some regard should be paid to communities?—Yes.

10067. First of all, who would you suggest should be the nominating officer? Would you keep it as it is in Bengal?—It is the Governor in Council at present.

10068. It is the Governor in Council?—That is the appointing authority.

10069. Through a series of recommending sieves?—Yes.

10070. Would you agree to the whole of that system being maintained?—So far as my opinion is concerned, I should think so.

10071. Do you think that the district officer ought to nominate?—Yes.

10072. Do you think he ought to be bombarded with requests by parents for their children being passed into the Government service?—It is very unpleasant; but unfortunately he has to go through it as most of us have to.

10073. You do not see any way out of it?—I do not.

10074. The reason why you would not apply the same rigid educational test to the Provincial Service that you would apply to the Indian Civil Service is that you think that the two services cannot be compared; that whilst it would be perfectly justifiable to allow communities to be represented in certain proportions in the lower service, the reasons that would justify it do not exist so far as the superior Indian Civil Service is concerned?—Precisely.

10075. That is the position you take up?—Precisely.

10076. Just one final question. If you took away the listed posts from the Provincial Service (I think the Chairman put this to you already, and I should like to follow it a stage further) you said that you did not think it would destroy the Provincial Service?—No.

10077. That it would make it as attractive as it is now?—It does not make it materially less attractive. That is what I mean.

10078. Do you not think that you would have requests on the part of the Provincial Servants which you cannot very

reasonably refuse to accept, that it is a great mistake to draw a line across any service and say of a body of men, however superior they may be, that certain individuals in it can never pass that line, as we have it in our Class 1 and Class 2 in our Home Civil Service?—That is why I have suggested that the power to make appointments to the superior service in exceptional cases should be retained. It is, as a matter of fact, very rarely exercised, and it may be exercised more often if anything is found to cause grave dissatisfaction, but I do not apprehend it.

10079. You would not think it is essential for well-organized service, would you, that important lower grades like the Provincial Service should have an outlet into the still more important higher grades like the Indian Civil Service?—So far as it is possible, I would have an outlet. I would prefer to have an outlet to some extent as an encouragement to men in the lower service; but I think we cannot (by 'we' I mean Indians) expect it both ways: we cannot expect to have a certain number of appointments in the Indian Civil Service—the higher service—and also get another lot of admissions into the higher service from the Provincial Service. That is why I venture to state that if we get the proportion fixed for the Indian Civil Service, I would be willing to give up the claims for listed appointments to that extent.

10080. Would that not destroy the efficient organization of the whole service from top to bottom?—I doubt that.

10081. (*Chairman.*) I should like to put one question. What is the inconsistency in having both the examinations you propose and the listed posts for the Provincial Service?—As I understand, the inconsistency would only be in this, that the irreducible minimum—the irreducible minimum of Europeans—might be affected. I said that it ought to be one-third Indians, which means two-thirds Europeans; but if the two-thirds is further encroached upon, the irreducible minimum goes down.

10082. You do not suggest a reduction in the one-third by examination in view of listed posts?—No. That deprives us to that extent of the same status as regards the one-third. That, I think, is very essential.

10083. (*Mr. Sly.*) One question as regards one point as to which I think there has been some misapprehension. Do

you know that the 'Warrant of Precedence' deals with Magistrates and Collectors without any distinction of any kind whatsoever, as to whether they are in the Indian Civil Service or out of it or hold listed posts?—I confess I have not studied the 'Warrant of Precedence' very much; but I believe Indian Civilians as such have precedence. That is my belief. After so many years they come in somewhere, and after some years more they come in somewhere else, and it goes on in that way; but it is not a document which I have studied very carefully.

10084. But all District Magistrates and Collectors come in a single place without regard to their recruitment?—Possibly.

10085. In connection with simultaneous examinations, we heard a good deal from you in regard to the possible dangers that might arise if a large number of Indian candidates were successful. In fact it would be difficult to maintain the European minimum under those conditions. Now I want to put to you the converse case. It has been represented to us that under simultaneous examinations, very few Indians would succeed for several years; indeed that for some years none would get in through the simultaneous examination. It has been stated that, if that fact should occur, it would create a certain serious political situation, which the Government would have to take into consideration before taking such a step as the establishment of simultaneous examinations—that the disappointment of the Indian people at such a result might have certain political effects, that it might cause in the minds of some people an idea, not perhaps that the examination was unfairly conducted, but that it was conducted in such a manner as to fail to appreciate the merits of the Indian students, and perhaps it might even further give rise to some suspicion in regard to the fairness of the examination altogether. I should very much like to have your opinion on it. Do you think that such a sort of consideration should have any weight?—I do not think there is anything in it. I have not considered it from that point of view at all; but I do think that there is not much chance of a large number of Indians getting in, if there is simultaneous examination, for many, many years.

10086. Do you think it would have any effect in creating any political feeling that the Government would have to take into consideration—a feeling of great disappointment—that might occur?—It might, but I have not considered it. It

might cause disappointment; the sense of unfairness that you just said it might, but I do not know that it would. It might, quite possibly.

10087. Well, to come to your European minimum of two-thirds, that relates to the whole of India, does it not?—Yes.

10088. Can you kindly tell us the conditions, that have been present in your mind, that induced you to fix the proportion of one-third? Why do you take that particular portion?—I have not done it with reference to any calculation of districts or number of officers employed, or anything of that kind. I have seen it discussed at different times as to the proportion that might safely be fixed; and I took everything into consideration—the increase in the number of persons who are now more largely imbued with the spirit of English education than some years ago. As a matter of fact, that was the proportion that was mentioned by the Madras Government, I think, in 1893.

10089. For Madras, is it not?—Yes, for Madras. It is my reading of the different reports and things that I have seen from time to time that left an impression on my mind that the proportion may safely be fixed now at one-third.

10090. Would the system of second examination in India that you recommend—would that secure that one-third being filled by the Indians?—I doubt that. The minimum qualification would be a high one according to my idea.

10091. If they had the minimum qualifications?—Yes.

10092. You think that at the present time we should contemplate such a large immediate increase in the present proportion of Indians in the Service, up to one-third?—I think so. Of course when you say 'immediate' I suppose you mean as the result of your labours, which will not be immediate, as far as I can judge. It must take a little time.

10093. Of recent years the number of Indians successful by open competition has been only about 5 per cent. To increase it straight away to one-third is very great, is it not?—Yes.

10094. You think it is all right and suitable?—I do not think that there is any political danger, if that is what you apprehend.

10095. I do not mean danger, but I mean for the good government of the country generally do you think it perfectly reasonable to increase it all at once to one-third ?—Good government, including in it also the training up of the people of the country to be able to govern themselves.

10096. You have recommended a certain amount of direct recruitment to the District Judges' posts, direct recruitment from the Bar ?—Yes, tentatively.

10097. You think from your knowledge of the Bar that the attractions of the District Judge's appointment are sufficient to secure good first-class men from the Bar ? —Not good first-class men from the Bar.

10098. Would we get a good second-class ?—We should not classify them like that. If by 'good first-class' or 'good second-class' you mean men making first-class incomes, I do not say you would ; but you would get men who have high qualifications. There are not many men who make first-class incomes at the Bar here.

10099. Let me put it in another way : Do you consider that that post would attract from the Bar as good or better legal talent as is at present secured from the Provincial Service and from the Indian Civil Service ?—Yes ; I think it would.

10100. On the whole you think that it would secure better men ?—Yes.

10101. Then in regard to recruitment to the Provincial Service, from your knowledge of the Bar, do you think that the present Provincial Service recruits are about the best or good average of the young material available at the Bar or not ? Does the present judicial branch of the Provincial Service attract about the best or a good average of the young material that is available at the Bar ?—It does not. It only attracts more or less people who think they will not get on.

10102. In answer to question (24) you raise the point that you think that the officers of the Provincial Service get their promotion to the listed posts at too late an age to do justice to themselves. Can you kindly tell us what you think would be a suitable age for an Indian to be promoted from the Provincial Service to the post of Collector or Judge ?—It must be more or less guess-work. I cannot lay down a hard-and-fast rule ; but I should say before they are 30.

10103. You think they ought to get them before they are 30?—Yes.

10104. I suppose you know that the Indian Civilian ordinarily gets that promotion when he is about 37 to 40 years of age?—You mean the listed appointments?

10105. No. The Indian Civilian who comes out to this country at the present time (about 25 or 26 years of age) ordinarily gets his promotion to Collectorship after 14 or 15 years' service, that is, he gets promotion to Collectorship at about 40 years of age?—I think under the system with which I am familiar—under that they become Collectors much earlier.

10106. They might act as such earlier; but do you think that they do so as young as 30?—I am not absolutely certain; but I think a few years ago they were Collectors long before 30.

10107. In your scheme for scholarships, the only point that has not been touched upon—and it seems to me one of considerable importance—is what system of selection or recruitment for these scholarships you suggest as suitable?—Either competitive examination or selection from the graduates, according to their position in the University list. I confess I have not thought it out.

10108. But, on the whole, you are inclined to think that you would take the University record of the man?—Yes, I think so; it is as good as any other.

10109. In your answer to question (32), one of your objections to probation in India is that you could hardly expect any good Englishman to come to India without being absolutely certain of his appointment; as a matter of fact, I believe the rejections during probation for a very considerable number of years in England have been practically none. If that difficulty is removed, do you or do you not think it would be a good thing for the young Civilian to come out to India immediately after he passes his examination to undergo his probation and training here?—I have said so. I should prefer the candidates from England to spend the period of probation in India; but I think, from what little knowledge and experience I have, that you would not get men to come out to India on those terms.

10110. But if you can get them to come out on these terms, you think it desirable?—Yes.

10111. Do you think, in Bengal for instance, that you can give just as good a training in law and general principles of jurisprudence as well as Indian law, as could be secured in England ?—I will not say that; but I think, for practical working purposes, it is quite good.

10112. In regard to the other great branch of study during the probationary period in England, that is, the vernacular languages, do you think that instruction could be given as well in India ?—Yes, I think it can be.

10113. In answer to question (16), you have given us some suggestion in regard to the modification of the syllabus and marks for the open competitive examination. I notice that you have not touched there at all the question of Indian vernaculars ?—No.

10114. What I want to ask you is whether you omitted the Indian vernaculars because you considered them undesirable as subjects of examination ?—It is only the classics more or less I was thinking of, and I said Sanskrit and Arabic; they should have little more marks than they have now, and Indian History and Indian law. I have not included Indian vernaculars; it is a competitive examination to start with, and it would absolutely be impossible for a certain class of candidates to take those things for example, the English candidates in England. It will probably give too great an advantage to the Indian candidates; and I do not know if a study of the vernacular would imply that amount of general culture (the ordinary spoken vernacular) which you are trying to test at the competitive examination.

10115. The position has been, of course, urged before us in evidence that, just as an English boy is allowed to take up a modern European language, French or Italian, so the Indian boy should be allowed to take up a vernacular other than his mother tongue ?—I do not agree with that. In the first place, I know only my own vernacular, Bengali; and in that there is literature growing every day in importance and certainly in size; but I do not know the vernaculars in other provinces. I do not know how far it is worth studying. I would not venture to make a suggestion with regard to them without knowing more about them.

10116. In answer to question (53), you express the view that recruitment for the Provincial Civil Service should not ordinarily be restricted to the residents of the province.

Well, we have had a very strong body of evidence, so far as it has gone in India, which is almost unanimously in favour of restricting the recruitment for the Provincial Service to the residents of the province. I should like you to tell us your reasons why you do not consider that necessary?—I did that after a careful consideration, and I confess with some amount of hesitation; and my principal reason for saying that it ought not necessarily to be recruited from the residents of the province is this, that the more the people of the different provinces in this country mix with each other and work in provinces other than their own the greater will be the sense of unity between them, which, I think is an end to be desired. I say there ought not to be a hard-and-fast rule of that kind.

10117. Of course, the result might be that the Provincial Service of some provinces, in fact of several provinces of India, would be recruited from the more advanced intellectual races, such as the Bengalis and the Madrasis, and perhaps to some extent from the Bombay Mahratta Brahman, but the other provinces would be very largely shut out from their own Provincial Service?—I do not think, if proper safeguards are put as to the necessary qualifications for the purpose of entering into the Provincial Service, there would be any danger of that kind.

10118. It will be open competition?—Yes: but the subjects of the different vernaculars, and so on, might be included and marks so allotted that it would be necessary to be almost a native of the province before he could get employment there. Safeguards should be placed against that, of course; and I do not think that there is danger of the Bengalis and the Poona Brahmans and Madras Brahmans swamping these appointments, anything like so great as people imagine. I think the people in the other provinces, barring the places I do not know anything about, like the North-West Frontier, and so on, are taking advantage of the educational facilities which have been provided now very greatly, and in a very short time I think they will be quite able to take care of themselves against the Bengalis and the Brahmans.

10119. (*Mr. Gokhale.*) With reference to your scheme of what might be called modified simultaneous examinations, an objection has been suggested that under that scheme an Indian candidate might fail in England and then come here and appear again and that would give him a special

advantage. Would it not be possible to get over this objection by so arranging the date of the Indian examination that it should not be possible for a candidate who fails in England to appear here?—Yes, it would, you would have to make it within two weeks.

10120. After the publication of the results there?—Yes, after the publication of the results there.

10121. So that it would not be a very serious objection?—No, it would not.

10122. As regards the proportion of one-third, of course you mean that the annual recruitment of Indians should be one-third of the total recruitment?—Yes.

10123. That would not mean that we should have straightaway one-third of the whole Civil Service?—No.

10124. How long would it take for one-third of the Civil Service to be Indian?—I think, to use a phrase of Sir Antony Macdonnell, it would take a whole official generation.

10125. About thirty years?—About thirty years I should think: quite that.

10126. You know the rules of 1879?—Yes.

10127. When one-sixth of the total recruitment was promised us?—Yes.

10128. And the rules were brought into force immediately?—Yes.

10129. They raised the proportion of Indians who get into the Service from about 2½ per cent. to 16½ per cent. I do not know whether you know the figures?—I do not exactly remember the figures, but it was something like that.

10130. Did you ever hear a complaint that too many Indians were being put into the Indian Civil Service then?—I did not.

10131. The complaint only was that the men selected were not good?—Yes.

10132. Now I come to the question of the irreducible minimum: you said that you agreed with the Secretary of State in what he has stated in his despatch forwarding the resolution on simultaneous examinations to India that there

should be an adequate number of Europeans in the service. You notice that the Secretary of State uses the expression "adequate number"?—Yes.

10133. Not an irreducible minimum?—Yes, I believe I used those words "adequate number."

10134. I want to ask your opinion about that. I believe you are familiar with section 87 of the Statute of 1833?—Yes, I have read it several times.

10135. Do you not think that the laying down of any number as the irreducible minimum of Europeans in the Indian Civil Service would be inconsistent with that section? —It is a very difficult question that you put to me. I know that a number of eminent lawyers, both Indian and English, have taken the view that the section makes it impossible to lay down the minimum for Indians or the maximum for Englishmen; if I were to give an opinion for myself I should require time to think it over; it is a very difficult question and I am not prepared to give an opinion offhand.

10136. In any case, in view of this difficulty you point out, would it not be more desirable that any number of Europeans that the Government might think to be necessary in the service should be secured by the practical working of any arrangements that are made than by laying down in black and white any definite proportion as the irreducible minimum?—Yes, as long as it was understood; the effect would be all that I desire.

10137. A suggestion has been made to this Commission that if section 87 of the Statute of 1833 stood in the way of such an irreducible minimum being prescribed, that section should be repealed: what do you think of that suggestion?—think it would be disastrous; I think it would produce very grave discontent.

10138. Why?—Because it is considered the Charter so far as Indians are concerned, and the promise that race or colour or creed is not to be a bar to holding any office under the Crown, has created the greatest possible satisfaction amongst Indians. I think the consequences would be so grave that it is impossible to foretell what it might mean.

10139. And you would say the same thing of the Queen's Proclamation?—Undoubtedly.

10140. In reply to question (57), I see you express yourself in favour of a complete separation of judicial and executive functions?—Yes.

10141. You do not mean of course that this separation of Judicial and Executive functions should take place only in the case of Provincial Civil Service officers?—No, I omitted to notice that that question related to the Provincial Civil Service. I intended that answer to apply to both. I have not yet seen there is a separate question in regard to the Indian Civil Service, but if there is, I intended that answer to be put there.

10142. You therefore are in favour of a complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions all through?—I am.

10143. And that has nothing to do with the recruitment of the Judicial branch of the service about which some questions have been put to you?—No.

10144. An impression was produced that the two things were interdependent in your scheme, but that is not so? —No.

10145. I should like to know clearly what you have in your mind about the recruitment of the Judicial branch. As I understand your scheme, if one-third of the Civil Service as a whole is offered to Indians, as you suggest, then you would not press for an immediate separate recruitment for the Judicial Service. Am I not right in that?—That is what I intended to say.

10146. But if the one-third is not offered, what is your alternative?—Then I should prefer the whole Judicial Service to be separately recruited for, and by that I mean both civil and criminal. Of course the Provincial Service, that is to say, the subordinate, if I may so call it (I know the word is objectionable, but I mean the inferior service), both Civil and Judicial are now separately recruited, and I would extend that also to the superior Judicial Service, that is to say, the District Judgeships, and under my scheme all these classes of appointments—District Judges, Subordinate Judges and Munsifs, as well as Deputy Magistrates doing only criminal Judicial work—would be separately recruited for as one service, Judges doing both civil and criminal work.

10147. This you would recommend if your proposal of one-third being given to Indians is not accepted?—Yes.

10148. Otherwise how would you stand?—Perhaps I ought to explain why I say that. I cannot help noticing what has been said, that it is with reference to executive appointments that the difficulty comes in of having a larger number of Indians than there is now. Personally I do not share the apprehensions that have been expressed with regard to it; but supposing those apprehensions are considered such that it is impossible to give effect to a scheme such as I have advocated for the admission of Indians into the Indian Civil Service as a whole, then I should say, at any rate with regard to the Judicial Service, it is admitted that Indians are at least as good; without comparison they are good. If they are good for the Judicial Service, then I ask that there should be a separate recruitment for the superior Judicial Service in the same way as there is now for the inferior Judicial Service, and that the Judicial Service should consist of men recruited for either by examination in England or selection in England from the Bar, similarly from the Bar here, and by promotion from the subordinate service.

10149. Have you formed any opinion yourself, and, if so, would care to express it as regards the relative merits of the English and Indian members of the Indian Civil Service as officers?—Well, it is rather difficult to generalise in that way, but my own idea is that the average Indian member of the Civil Service is as good as the average English member of the Indian Civil Service.

10150. (*Mr. Chaubal.*) Following up the same question of the separation of the Judicial and Executive branches, I thought you said you were in favour of the separation of the two, if your proportion of two-thirds and one-third was not accepted, for the two services?—Yes.

10151. Assuming for a moment that a scheme for the complete separation of the Judicial and the Executive were proposed, am I to understand that according to your proposal you would begin from the lowest grades? At present there are Magistrates of different classes who perform certain executive functions besides administrative duties; would it be a part of your scheme of separation that the criminal administration of justice should be taken away from the subordinate magistracy?—Yes; so far as they will be Judicial officers they will have no administrative work.

10152. Then as regards the functions that are at present performed by the different classes of Magistrates, would you

utilise the present civil sub-judicial staff for the disposal of criminal work, or put in a separate class of officers for criminal justice only ?—Of course there will have to be an increased Subordinate Judicial Service, because they will have to do both the civil judicial work and the criminal judicial work. I will make my meaning clearer probably if I illustrate it by a concrete example. I will take a particular district now where there are four Deputy Magistrates, as we call them, exercising magisterial powers, that is to say, working as criminal Judicial officers and doing revenue work also. If there is to be a separate Judicial Service doing both kinds of work, civil and criminal, out of the four that do both criminal and revenue work now, two will be left for the purpose of doing the revenue and administrative work, and two will be put into the cadre of the Judicial Service and be amalgamated with that service.

10153. In that way the cost will not be so great as it is thought ?—I do not think it will.

10154. There is one objection which we have had mentioned in the evidence we have so far taken, namely, that if you did separate the two services in that way, then the revenue officer, who has at present these criminal powers, would be so handicapped in the performance of his revenue and other miscellaneous duties that it would be almost impossible to think of taking away those powers from him ?—I cannot say that.

10155. Do you think the administration of those departments would suffer if that power was taken away ?—On the contrary, I think it would improve.

10156. Would you say the same thing of the higher Magistrates, the Sub-divisional Magistrates and the District Magistrates ?—That is my opinion.

10157. You admit I suppose that the Collector or District Magistrate at present is, under the new scheme, responsible for the peace of his district ?—Yes.

10158. Do not you think that for that purpose, in cases of emergency, he ought to have certain powers ?—I do not know of any necessity for that. If by emergency is meant times of riot, mutiny, or anything like that, a state in which the ordinary law is suspended and martial law is in vogue, of course the head Executive officer of the district will have sufficient power to deal with that under the ordinary law.

10159. With regard to your scheme about the separate examination in India, I understand the examination in India you want to be a qualifying one, not necessarily a competitive one?—My scheme is for a competitive examination.

10160. But you say it should be laid down that there should be a minimum number of marks obtained?—Yes.

10161. Would not that be a qualifying examination rather than a competitive one?—If you call it a qualifying examination on that account, then of course it is qualifying, but I do not understand that that makes it any the less a competitive examination. What I mean is this. It would be open to the Government to say that any man who gets in must at least get, say, 2,500 marks, taking the average from the lists to ensure that he will be a superior man with superior intellectual acquirements.

10162. You have taken an instance of 60 vacancies and you have said that 20 should be reserved for Natives of India, and that if the list of successful candidates at the examination held in London includes 20 Natives of India, there will be no vacancy to fill up as the result of the examination in India, but that if it includes only five Natives of India there will be 15 vacancies to be filled up by the result of the examination in India, and that if there be none successful in England the whole 20 will be filled up from candidates in India; and you say that in the case of candidates appearing in India it should be laid down that there should be a minimum number of marks necessary to be obtained. Now, supposing more than 20 get above that minimum, what would you do with the rest?—Then it would be the first 20.

10163. So that there is a chance of a man coming in the examination above the minimum and yet not getting in?—No; for the examination in India I say the minimum number of marks necessary to be obtained is so much, and anybody getting any marks above that will be eligible; but then as between those who are eligible you will determine who has got the largest number of marks in order to let them in.

10164. Then am I to understand that it is not a necessary part of your scheme that those who get the minimum number and do not succeed in getting into the Indian Civil Service should be utilised for any other services?—I have not suggested that in regard to the examination in India, but if it

is considered practicable I know of no objection to it. I have not thought of it from that point of view.

10165. With regard to the question of the separation of the Judicial and the Executive, do not you attach some importance to what is known as the judicial frame of mind?—I do.

10166. Do you think that a person who passes ten or twelve years of his life in the Executive branch of the Indian Civil Service has no possibility of getting that judicial frame of mind? I may say that these questions are put with the view of obtaining an idea from you on what you take to be the time of bifurcation between the Judicial and the Executive?—I have heard it suggested that if you are too long in the Executive branch you get what is called an executive bias, and there is undoubtedly something to be said for that.

10167. Is it with reference to that that you have roughly settled the period of five years?—No, I cannot say it was. You have to fix a particular period and the earlier you do it the better, having regard to the fact that you have only a certain number of years which a man can put in.

10168. Do not you think that a knowledge of the miscellaneous work you are referring to in the departments would be acquired by an officer of the intelligence which success in an examination of that kind implies that three or four years would be enough?—Probably it would. I have put the figure at 5, but I do not lay any stress upon it. All I mean is, early in his career.

10169. Supposing it was suggested that it ought to be eight years, would you consider that to be too late?—It is a matter of opinion, I should think eight years would be too long, but I am bound to add that when Mr. Madge drew my attention to the fact that the Local Government Board considered nine years as the minimum period, I thought I should like to know why they say so before I could finally make up my mind with regard to it.

10170. Personally, I quite agree with you because I have seen instances of that bias. For instance you might convince a Magistrate that the statements of a witness to the police were absolutely inadmissible, and yet after labouring on the point for an hour I have heard a Magistrate ask me, "That is all right, but how can I help knowing that that was the first thing?"—I can quite understand that.

10171. With respect to simultaneous and separate examinations, you attach some importance to the fact that some disappointment would be caused because of a large number of candidates appearing for the examination and not getting through ?—I said it might be caused.

10172. But so far as such discontent may be caused would not that be a point to be considered ?—Of course it will cause disappointment when people do not get in, but what I was asked was whether it would produce a feeling of injustice or unfairness, and I said it might, but I did not personally think it would.

10173. I did not go so far as unfairness, but if for the next ten years a large number of Indian candidates appeared at the Indian examination and failed, then would not the discontent produced in the minds of these young men who try and fail be a source of unrest ?—I do not think it will have any such serious consequence as that.

10174. Assuming there will be some discontent, do not you think it would be better to have discontent among those who appear in England and fail there than amongst those who appear here and fail here ?—Yes, or not being allowed to appear at all ; that is a much more serious objection.

10175. Do not you think that in the period which it will take to work up to your irreducible minimum, which you calculate to be about one generation, the English door will be wide enough to admit the requisite number of Indians ?—I doubt that very much.

10176. Do not you find that a larger number of people are now getting in by the examination in England ?—Yes, a larger number of people are appearing.

10177. Do not you find that officers of the Government send their sons for education in England ?—Very few.

10178. But very many more are alive to it now than they were ten or fifteen years back ?—There are more people doing that now than there were a few years ago, but the number is very small.

10179. You do not think that, calculating it in that way, 30 years would give you the number you require ?—I think it is impossible.

10180. (*Sir Theodore Morison.*) May I ask you a little more about this alternative scheme? Do I understand that if recruitment of the Judicial branch is entirely separate you would not make any alterations with regard to the admission to the Indian Civil Service?—Yes; that is so; the Judicial appointments would practically resolve themselves into District and Sessions Judgeships being taken away from the appointments scheduled under the Act of 1858. If you take away the District and Sessions Judgeships from that and the Indian Civil Service is recruited for as it is, I shall have nothing to say to that.

10181. It would be really for the Executive Branch only? —Quite so.

10182. Would you leave it as it is?—Yes, one examination in England open to all His Majesty's natural-born subjects.

10183. Would you press for these 100 scholarships under those circumstances?—No.

10184. With regard to that, I understand you would leave it exactly as it is?—Quite so.

10185. Only the number of posts would be smaller because the Judicial appointments would be withdrawn? -Yes.

10186. How would you recruit for this Judicial branch?—I would recruit it in three different ways, that is to say, by either examination or selection in England; I would have the whole number competed for in all these places but keep a few for the Subordinate Judicial Service for promotion from the Subordinate Service.

10187. Like the listed posts?—Yes, analogous to that, and the rest to be appointed in England as well as in India. The particular method by which the appointments are to be made may be either competitive examination or selection. If we could get the High Court Judges in England to assist us to select men from the Bar, I would welcome such a process of selection, but there might be difficulties with regard to that.

10188. You would appoint from the Indian Bar?—Yes, both Barristers and Pleaders.

10189. There would be a certain number promoted from the Provincial Civil Service and a certain proportion from

the Barristers and Vakils at the Indian Bar, and also a certain proportion appointed from England ?—That is so.

10190. Of course you prefer your own plan, but you yourself would accept this as a tolerable equivalent?—I think on the whole this would be probably more acceptable to both sides than the one I have suggested.

10191. And you put it on the ground of the approved merit of the Indian Judge ?—Yes.

10192. There is no risk in his case?—There is no risk.

10193. And the efficiency of the Indian administrator ?—With regard to that questions have been raised and apprehensions are entertained, but there is no such apprehension with regard to the Judicial.

10194. The reputation of the Indian Judges has not been questioned ?—No.

10195. Do you think that in Bengal generally this would be accepted ?—That is my belief, and I have every reason to think so.

10196. You yourself would accept it ?—For myself I would accept it.

10197. I see you insist on residence in England for Indian probationers ?—Yes.

10198. Would you mind answering a very general question ? Do you think from your experience in Bengal that the Indians who have gone to England have been superior on the whole to those who have not gone to England ? Among the half dozen first-class men you have known, the very best men, what proportion has been to England ?—I could not answer that ; I could not fix the proportion.

10199. But it would include some of the men who had been to England, would it not ? If I may answer the question in a very general way, I think residence in England does give us, Indians, a wider outlook than if we had not gone to England. I find myself that in most matters they take a broader view than those who have not been to England. Of course I do not mean to be offensive in any way to those who have not been, but that is my belief.

10200. I only asked the question because the evidence in Madras was in a somewhat contrary direction?—My belief is as I have stated.

10201. (*Lord Ronaldshay.*) You mentioned the institution of simultaneous examinations in this country and said that you did not anticipate for many years the introduction of a larger number of Indians into the Civil Service, but you contemplate the possibility of their finding their way in?—The bare possibility.

10202. But still it is conceivable?—It is very difficult to express it.

10203. There is the bare possibility. that is all I want for my purpose?—Yes.

10204. If these simultaneous examinations were instituted in this country, and if the bare possibility became a fact, would it not be almost impossible to make any alteration in the system with a view to limiting the number of successful Indian candidates?—It would be very difficult if the bare possibility became a fact—an eventuality which I do not anticipate.

10205. I am assuming that. You think it would be really practically impossible?—Yes.

10206. Assuming the existence of that bare possibility, is not that a very grave objection to the institution of a system of simultaneous examinations in this country?—Yes, only I have endeavoured to express my opinion with regard to that bare possibility. I say there is a bare possibility, though I cannot conceive its ever being turned into a fact.

10207. I only wanted to bring out the difficulty of doing anything afterwards?—Perhaps I ought to give my reason why I say that. I know the calibre of the Indian boys, and I think I know the calibre of the English boys, and having regard to the calibre of both classes of boys, and the educational facilities in England and the want of educational facilities in India, I think when I say there is a bare possibility I am really understanding the case. I think it is practically impossible that an Indian boy under those conditions would have much chance or any chance of success against an English boy.

10208. I quite agree with that, but so long as the bare possibility exists, that possibility does constitute a grave objection to the institution of that system?—That apprehension has to be allayed.

10209. With regard to your alternative scheme in which you suggest that a fixed number of vacancies every year should be set aside for Indians and be filled if possible by Indians passing through the English door, and if not by a subsequent examination in India to make up the deficit, I think you said in answer to Sir Valentine Chirol that Indian candidates who had failed to get in by the English door would be able to repair to India and then get in by the Indian door. In answer to Mr. Gokhale you stated that it would be possible to avoid that by having the Indian examination taking place almost immediately after the English examination. Would not that be impracticable? Who is going to set the Indian examination papers?—As I said, it would be the Civil Service Commissioners.

10210. But must not these men have some time after the English examination in order to draw up their examination for India?—Is that an insuperable difficulty? That will probably require another set of men being employed beforehand and being told to have the questions ready.

10211. I am suggesting to you that there would be practical difficulties in the way of holding a subsequent examination in India very soon after the examination in England. Let me now suggest another difficulty. Until you have had your examination in England you do not know how many vacancies you will require to fill up in India. It is conceivable there might be no vacancies, and therefore no Indian examination. Would not that be a great hardship on Indian students who, having put the finishing touches on their training for the examination, discover at the last moment that the examination is not to take place? Would it not be necessary to have a considerable interval, say six months or something of that kind, between the examination in England and the examination in India?—Those details would have to be worked out, but even if there is some slight disadvantage we would have to put up with that for the sake of the advantages in other directions.

10212. Unless you can get over the practical difficulties of holding your Indian examination almost immediately after

your English examination your scheme will be open to the objection that Indians, who have been defeated in the English examinations by English candidates who have not been able to get into the service because they were below other Englishmen, will come out to India and might get into the service through the Indian examination; that is to say, an Indian who had been defeated by an English candidate would get into the service, whereas the English candidate who had defeated him, but who had not acquired sufficient marks to get in, would be kept out of the service?—I do not think it would be a very grave evil, because it may be that a man who is defeated in an examination to-day, if he were to have the chance of going up for the same examination to-morrow, would pass it, and pass it better than those who had defeated him on the previous day. Where is the evil in giving this man two chances?

10213. But you are giving the Indian two chances and the Englishman only one?—The Englishman has the next year.

10214. You mean that the Englishman has the same chance next year?—Yes.

10215. Let us assume that. Assume that the Englishman has a second go next year and gets in and finds himself below an Indian whom he had defeated the year before. Does not that seem rather an anomalous position?—No doubt, but can you pin your faith to that extent on a competitive examination, that because A defeats B to-day therefore for all time A must be put down as a superior man to B? Why make an assumption of that kind?

10216. The assumption would be the other way in this case. With regard to your objection to the system of listed posts, I understand your main objection is that under that system men who get into these posts are too old to do themselves justice or to benefit by their having risen to those posts. Do you think it would be possible to draw up a scheme under which picked men from the Provincial Civil Service might be appointed to listed posts [illegible] years' service in the lower grades?—It would be better than the present system; it would give them a chance of getting into the higher service earlier in life, and they would have a better chance of adapting themselves to their new social status.

10217. Do you think there would be any grave difficulties in the way of such a scheme?—Except that they would never be absolutely equal to their English colleagues in the service. Unless they belonged to the same service, it is impossible to create that feeling of equality which is what I prize above all.

10218. But if it were possible to introduce a scheme by which picked men from the Provincial Service are given listed posts after eight or ten years' service, that is to say, at the same period of their service as Indian Civilians rise to superior posts, and if the men who had reached these listed posts were then to be enrolled in the same service as the Indian Civilians, would that get over your difficulty, and would that be accepted by Indian public opinion as satisfactory?—I do not think so.

10219. You think not?—I think not. In the first place, would you propose that they should have the same pay as members of the Indian Civil Service?

10220. On my assumption, yes?—That would remove some portion of the distrust or suspicion with which they would be looked upon, but even then I doubt whether the social position would be the same. It is not merely pay that makes the social position. They would not have the same social position as a member of the Indian Civil Service in the same appointment.

10221. Even if they were enrolled in the service?—By being enrolled I take it you mean by being given the same pay?

10222. Let me give you an analogy. Men from the subordinate service are to-day promoted to the Provincial Service, and I assume that when they have been once promoted to the Provincial Service they are not regarded as being inferior? —They are regarded as being inferior the members of the Indian Civil Service in the same appointment.

10223. Am I to understand that the men who are promoted from the subordinate services to the Provincial Civil Service are regarded as being on an inferior plane to the men who had been recruited direct to the Provincial Service? —No, I do not mean that.

10224. That is my analogy. If it is possible to promote men from the subordinate service to the Provincial Service

without the charge of their being on an inferior plane, would not it be equally possible to promote men from the Provincial Service to the Indian Civil Service if you enrolled them in the cadre of the Civil Service without these men being regarded as inferior?—I rather think not, because the Indian Civil Service is looked upon as the ruling caste, so to speak, and it is difficult to admit anybody into that caste except through the ordinary door of admission. It is that which creates their position and that which gives them the status.

10225. Then the whole difficulty really is the door by which you get into the service, not the fact that you are in the service?—And the position, pay and privileges incident to it.

10226. If the pay and privileges are conceded, would not the promoted man from the Provincial Civil Service be regarded as on the same plane?—He might in time, just as you can admit a Member of the House of Commons into the aristocracy; but I take it in the beginning he would be looked upon more or less as an interloper. But I am speaking without experience in that matter.

10227. You are thinking of the promotion of a Member of the House of Commons to the House of Lords?—To some extent.

10228. In your answer to question (37) you suggest that the officers who are selected for the Judicial branch of the service should be given a period of training as Munsifs and as Subordinate Judges. The objection to that which occurs to my mind is that if you are going to take men from outside the Judicial branch of the Provincial Service and give them the duties of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges you are going enormously to block promotion in the lower grades of the Provincial Civil Service, are you not?—No, I do not think so. In the first place the number of Indian Civilians working as Munsifs and Subordinate Judges would not be very great, as compared with the number of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges doing the ordinary work.

10229. Can you tell me how many Subordinate Judges you have in Bengal?—No, I could not give you the number, but I should think there would be about 50.

10230. (*Mr. Sen.*) There are 42?—Yes, there is about that number; I do not think that is very far out.

10231. (*Lord Ronaldshay.*) How many of these men undergoing training do you contemplate would be acting as Subordinate Judges at one time?—I suppose it would be four or five at a time, certainly not more.

10232. Then you have to take those off the present men?—Yes.

10233. Surely that would make a good deal of difference?—That would be a very small matter; it need not block their promotion at all.

10234. I quite accept your view on that point; I am only asking for my own information?—That is my idea.

10235. (*Mr. Bompas.*) I think there was a slight misunderstanding at the end of your examination by Mr. Macdonald. When you object to the combination of judicial and executive functions, I think you do not object to the same officer doing settlement work and then becoming a Collector and eventually becoming a Judge?—No.

10236. You object to the District Magistrate exercising judicial and executive functions at the same time?—Yes.

10237. Taking your proportion of one-third Indians and two-thirds Europeans, that is, for the Imperial Service for the whole of India?—Yes.

10238. Would you preserve that ratio in the different provinces, that is to say, would you always send one-third Indians among the newly recruited Indians to every province?—Not necessarily.

10239. That is not an essential part of your scheme?—No.

10240. You might get more than one-third Indian officers in some provinces?—Yes. The Local Governments would be the best judges as to how many Indians they could take in that particular province, having regard to the requirements of the particular provinces and the particular districts.

10241. Would you pay any attention to the province from which a recruit came in posting him?—I think so. Ordinarily I would post him to his own province because he is likely to be more useful there.

10242. So as to have the advantage of his knowledge of the people and the language?—Certainly.

10243. That is to say, it would be a matter of chance after the examination what percentage of Indian officers were actually engaged in the Civil Service in any province?—When you say it would be a matter of chance, I would point out that it has to be determined by selection as to what particular officers are to go to what provinces. That must be a matter of choice either on the part of the candidate or of the Government. It may be necessary to override the candidate's choice for reasons of State and not give him the province he wants, supposing he happens to be unsuitable for that province; it might be necessary to give him a province which he does not want but for which the Government thinks he is suitable.

10244. Still it is a great waste of possible efficiency if you send an officer who knows the language and customs of one province to another part of India?—There is hardly any scheme which has not some disadvantages. You cannot have a perfect scheme.

10245. But you would favour his going to his own province if possible?—I would.

10246. Would you say that an officer from another province would be at a disadvantage as compared with an officer from the same province, in the influence he would be able to exercise over the people?—In some respects possibly he would.

10247. Take an ordinary Bengal district now, and assume that a Bengal Magistrate or Judge is as welcome or more welcome than an English Collector or Judge: do you think there is any reason to suppose that the mass of the people would prefer a Punjabi or a Madrassi Collector to an English Collector?—I have no reason to suppose they would.

10248. (*Mr. Mukherji.*) With regard to your scheme for the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service, you have taken away the listed posts, and you admit also that it will take an official generation, say 30 years, to work up to your one-third of the posts reserved for Indians. In the meantime what would you give to the Provincial Civil Service to compensate them for the loss?—I take it they will have some compensation, but I am not prepared to say what the exact proportion would be or what the exact number of appointments would be that would remain listed. I have not thought that out, but it will have to be considered of course.

10249. You say that the appointment of Provincial Civil Service men to the listed posts has not been always successful, and you attribute it to the fact that they have been selected at far too advanced an age?—Generally speaking, yes.

10250. Do you think that it has often failed owing to the appointment of unsuitable men? Do you consider, from your experience, that the men who are appointed are generally suitable?—My own idea is that they are generally suitable.

10251. You think then that age is the bar?— I think so. Generally speaking, they have been fairly good men.

10252. In answer to question (51) you say that after reserving a certain number of appointments for nomination the rest should be thrown open to competition. Would you fix the proportion?—I should not like to lay down any proportion, not having sufficient data before me to do so. I mean that only a small proportion should be left for nomination.

10253. Up till lately there was a competitive examination in the Executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service, was there not?—Yes.

10254. Have you any idea of the men who entered by that door?—Yes, I have known them personally, and I have also heard of them through their fellow members in the service and also from their official superiors, and I have heard very good accounts of them.

10255. Do you think that that was distinctly a good system?—So I believe, and so I have been always told.

10256. With reference to your answer to question (50), you say there are too few posts in the superior grades of the Provincial Civil Service; I am referring to the Executive Branch—the Deputy Magistrates. They now rise to Rs. 800, which is their top grade. Sub-Judges have Rs. 1,000. Do you think that the Magistrates require a grade or two grades above Rs. 800?—I think so. That is what I meant when I said that.

10257. You think the number of men in the grades at present is far too few?—Far too few.

10258. (*Mr. Sen.*) You have already expressed an opinion that the work of Munsifs and Sub-Judges as a class is extremely satisfactory. You also say that there are too few

posts in the superior grades, and that the number should be increased. You are further of opinion that the present scale of salaries was fixed many years ago, and that it urgently requires revision in order to enable Provincial Civil Service officers to live according to their position. Do you think that the Provincial Civil Service Judicial officers as a class are very hard-working officers?—Yes.

10259. And the duties they have to perform are of a very responsible character?—They are.

10260. In consideration of their work, do you not think they are deserving of sufficient encouragement in respect of their pay and prospects in the service?—Most certainly I do.

10261. Are you aware that there is great congestion in the service, especially in the intermediate grades, and that promotion is very slow on account of that?—I have heard so.

10262. If that is so, are you in favour of a time-scale which would remove the cause? At present promotion depends on uncertainties, on casualties, death, retirement, etc.?—I do not feel competent to give an opinion with regard to that.

10263. You have not thought about it, probably?—No.

10264. You have mentioned a scheme by which a definite proportion of vacancies in the Indian Civil Service should be filled by "Natives of India," and in that case you propose to abolish the listed posts, but of course the interests of the present members of the service should be sufficiently safeguarded?—Of course.

10215. Even if the listed posts are abolished you say that the Provincial Service men should have some sort of outlet in order that they may be promoted to listed appointments?—Yes, the power of the Government should be retained for that purpose.

10266. But supposing your scheme is not accepted, then you think that Barristers and Vakils of the High Court may be appointed to District Judgeships?—Yes, subject to what I have said in answer to Sir Theodore Morison with regard to the other scheme about separate recruitment for District and Sessions Judgeships.

10267. But you think some Barristers and Vakils should be also promoted to District Judgeships?—Yes.

10268. At present you know some of the District Judgeships are open to members of the Provincial Service?—Yes.

10269. And you are also of opinion that members of the Provincial Service who have been appointed as District Judges have worked very well?—Yes.

10270. Do you not think that in the interests of that service a fixed number of District Judgeships should be always reserved for members of that service?—I do not know about being always reserved, but I have said there ought to be the possibility of promotion from the Subordinate Judicial Service to the higher Judicial Service, that is to say, from Subordinate Judges to the posts of District and Sessions Judges.

10271. But then if Barristers and Vakils are appointed, that may have the effect of reducing the number of Judgeships at present allotted to the Provincial Civil Service men, and unless some appointments are set apart for the service, it may have the effect of depriving them of such appointments?—I should be content to leave that to the High Court, who would have the selection. If they could get a better man from the Bar than the Subordinate Judicial Service man, I would leave it open to the High Court to select from the Bar. Whoever the selecting authority is it should be free to select either from the Bar or from the Subordinate Judicial Service.

10272. Are the listed posts now open to the Provincial Judicial Service sufficient in your opinion? I should say that the present number is about four out of 31 Judges, including the Legal Remembrancer?—If there is no alteration in the scheme for the Indian Civil Service, I think the Provincial Judicial Service men ought to have a larger number of the appointments listed.

10273. You seem to be of opinion that the present practice of appointing Sub-Judges to District Judgeships at the close of their official career is not sound?—That is so.

10274. Possibly you think it desirable that Sub-Judges should be appointed District Judges at a much younger age?—Yes.

10275. If the present method of recruitment of District Judges from members of the Indian Civil Service be materially improved, and in view of the fact that there is a highly efficient class of Judicial officers in Bengal who have been

# APPENDIX

## SIR S. P. SINHA'S APPOINTMENT

### I. British Press Comments

*Among the Press comments on Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as Under Secretary of State for India we select the following .—*

THE "TIMES"

They (the public) will hail, we think, with greater interest than any other, the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under Secretary at the India Office—a rare stroke of imagination. We wish there were more of them.

"EVENING STANDARD"

What would be the reflections of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings could they but revisit Westminster to find a Jew and an Asiatic native of India in control of the Government at this end of that great Dependency? The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to the India Office is really in many ways the outstanding novelty of the new Ministry. This is a precedent which foreshadows the gradual association of the people of India with the rule of that country.

"OBSERVER"

The nation . . . is entirely satisfied that . . . Mr. Montagu stays at the India Office. Perhaps the most striking thing in the whole list is that Sir S. P. Sinha, a spokesman of native opinion, becomes Under Secretary. That means more than a milestone for Indian progress. It is the boldest augury for the reality of reform.

## "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

The grant of a peerage to Sir Satyendra Sinha, which is reported on apparently good authority, is as great and salutary a departure from custom as was his appointment to the Under Secretaryship of State for India, and is a fitting complement to that signal recognition of the claim of Indians of distinction to quite a new measure of recognition and authority in the direction of the affairs of their country. It is on the same line of progress and statesmanship as the appointment of Indian representatives at the last Imperial War Conference, and will appeal as that appealed to the pride, as it helps to satisfy the self-respect, of the leaders of Indian national life and of the whole Indian community. It has been a grievous defect of our handling of the Government of India that it has not sufficiently appealed to these very human and deep-seated sentiments, and it is to be hoped that the precedents now set will not only be followed but developed. Our rule in India has, on the whole, been an eminently just rule, and it has conferred vast material benefits on India. But man does not live by bread alone, and no material benefits will, for the educated and the men of position, compensate for the exclusion from great affairs and for the sense of social and political inferiority. There is vast room yet for progress in these matters, and the progress cannot be confined to Government recognition only, but should find a far greater place than it has done in the social relations and habitual intercourse of the two races in India. This is a change more needful perhaps than even the gradual extension of self-governing institutions or the appointment of distinguished Indians to posts of honour and dignity. But both are essential and each will help the other.

## "DAILY TELEGRAPH"

The elevation of Sir Satyendra Sinha to the Peerage, coupled with the fact that he is the new Under Secretary of State for India, marks a definite step in the evolution of British policy. We have had educated Indians before now associated with Par-

liamentary life; the names of Mr. D. Naoroji and Sir M. Bhownaggree are familiar, the one as a Gladstonian Liberal, the other as a Unionist Member of Parliament. So, too Mr. Ameer Ali was created a Privy Councillor, a distinction which has also fallen to the lot of the new Indian Peer. But though these analogies may have familiarised the public mind with the appearance of Indians holding a responsible position in our community this is the first occasion on which a native of India has been appointed to executive office in Parliament, and we need scarcely add that the event is made all the more exceptional by his elevation to the Peerage. He has all the qualifications necessary for an important position in the Administration. He has not only done good work, but has been much respected by all his acquaintances, both as a scholar and as a jurist. The great body of Indian public opinion will cordially approve his selection as Under Secretary, while by becoming a Peer he will be able to represent the interests of his native country in the House of Lords, just as Mr. E. S. Montagu supervises them in the House of Commons. Indeed, the appointment to the Under Secretaryship combined with a Peerage, is a striking instance of that imaginative insight into political conditions the absence of which we often lament in appointment to offices of State.

Apart, however, from personal congratulations due to Sir Satyendra Sinha, and our appreciation of a wise act of statesmanship, it is inevitable to regard this selection in relation to the past history of British Government in India and the reforms which, as we know, are devised for her future development. The elevation of Sir Satyendra Sinha to the Peerage is a fresh example of the honesty and the liberal character of our policy. By making a native Indian Under Secretary of State for India we prove beyond doubt our generous ambition to promote in every way the future welfare of the Indian Peninsula.

## THE "SCOTSMAN"

To-night the report is published, with a claim of official authority for it, that Sir S. P. Sinha, the new Under Secretary

for India, is to become a Peer. The step, if taken, will be of unique interest as marking the entry into the House of Lords of the first member who is not of pure European descent. The Dominions have made several contributions to the Peerage, but they have taken little part in the proceedings of the Second Chamber. Sir S. P. Sinha, it is true, has the qualification as a lawyer to receive one, but that course can hardly be taken when the object of making him a member is not judicial. He is needed to defend the Indian policy of the Government. It would be convenient, and a step towards making the House of Lords more representative of the Empire, if the Prime Minister could call to its counsels prominent statesmen, whether of European or Indian descent, by giving them life Peerages in cases where a hereditary title would be an embarrassment. Though success at the Bar is no guarantee of Parliamentary success, the new Under Secretary for India has a reputation as a debater which suggests that he will be able to hold his own with his critics, and will be an ornament to either House.

## II. Indian Press: Opinions

### "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

Sir S. Sinha is eminently qualified for the post by his devoted services to India, and his readiness to put his country's interests before his own entitles him to the high compliment and marked confidence which he has now received. He will bring to the discussion of the Reform Scheme wide knowledge of changing India, and deep sympathy with India. If he accepts a Peerage, he will find in the House of Lords unlimited opportunity of dealing with the arguments of Tory obstructionists, whose knowledge of India is, for the most part, hopelessly out of date.

### THE "BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

Sir S. Sinha can rise to the height of his opportunity only if he identifies himself with progressive political idealism of

India. It is for him to gain the confidence of his countrymen in the position to which he goes without their mandate, but in which he can fight for the utmost limit of their legitimate rights.

## THE "INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH"

The appointment which indicates the marked change in the angle of vision of British statesmen towards the problem of Indian administration, will be received with great satisfaction in this country, although, no doubt, there will be a large section who will persist in saying that the appointment of an Indian Under Secretary of State can make no material alteration in the governance of the country according to the wishes of the Indian National Congress. However that might be, it at least shows that the prejudice if it has ever existed against Indians as such in the highest offices of state has disappeared and it will no doubt be the forerunner of others in the near future which will all tend to bind England and India still closer, and satisfy Indian aspirations in conformity with the Government's declared intentions. Again the present appointment is likely to have the beneficial effect of drawing the attention of the British public to the great problems of this country to which, we fear, they have hitherto paid but scant attention. As regards the personal distinction to Sir Satyendra there may be natural disappointment in Moslem circles, but as in regard to the Viceroy's Executive Council where first a Hindu and then a Mahomedan were appointed, it is, we think, possible that after Sir S. P. Sinha the India Office may be represented in Parliament by a Mahomedan.

## "CAPITAL"

Nobody doubts that Sir S. P. Sinha will make a capable Under Secretary for India and his success should be commensurate with his capacity. He knows India and its peoples better than any English politician who has held the appointment before him, and his sympathy is not artificial. When he

speaks on Indian problems he will be listened to with respectful attention, for though he is consumed with a passion for self-determination, like every true patriot, yet he realizes to the full the beneficent providence of British rule, and his serenely logical mind, which is very like a Frenchman's, will give him an attractive balance. His appointment is to be applauded from every point of view. I can think of nothing more ungracious than to set it down to the legerdemain of a political mountebank who would divert the attention of an audience which he would daze by a crude delusion. Only an idiot would believe this true. We can all surely be magnanimous enough to accept the proposition that the elevation of an Indian to Cabinet rank is an earnest that England desires India's partnership, not her antagonism or sulky submission. Sir S. P. Sinha is no ordinary Indian; in his own land he is a man among men, in foreign parts he has held his own with the best. To regard him as the cat's-paw of a clever Israelite is little short of blasphemy.

## THE "ENGLISHMAN"

It will be received with considerable surprise in India where the move will be regarded and not by Europeans alone as an experiment. The entire affair is the doing of Mr. Montagu who is no doubt congratulating himself upon having brought off a grand *coup* in favour of his Reform Scheme. However this might be said that the appointment of Sir Satyendra is an advance infinitely preferable to creation of electorates without material as advocated in the Reform Scheme and the introduction of a reasonably-minded Indian into such a position can perhaps be regarded as a legitimate expansion of the principle of giving Indians a larger share of the government of the country in the safest way because such a Minister will be subjected to a salary and the restraining influence of either House. Even then the appointment seems to be premature, especially as, to the creation of a precedent and upon that ground is open to serious criticism.

## THE "PIONEER"

That the British Government is anxious to do its best by India we have further striking proof in the latest honour that has been paid to Sir Satyendra Sinha, P. C. We have no doubt whatever as to Sir Satyendra's capacity to fulfil all the duties that will be required of him as Under Secretary of State for India. We heartily congratulate him and India on this new record he has established in being the first Indian to become a member of the British Government. In these days of more than impatient idealism we cannot hope for all the politicians of India to be impressed by the remarkable precedent thus created, but to those at least endowed with a sense of discernment Sir Satyendra's new appointment should not be without very hopeful significance.

## THE "BENGALI"

Now the Cabinet will have among its members one of the foremost Indians of the present day, who has risen to his present position by sterling worth and by admirable qualities of intellect and character. It is men of his type who will play a great part in the new imperialistic policy of Great Britain—men sober, balanced, rich in the resources of judgment and above all, in that lofty patriotism that rejoices in service. India is not poor in men of this stamp, and though extremism is said to have captured the imagination of young, ardent spirits, the heart of the country beats in unison with sober and sedate counsels of moderation. We may take the appointment of Sir Satyendra Sinha as an indubitable proof of the sincerity of the new policy on which Great Britian is embarked towards this country. That policy, we hope, will be one of trust and confidence, of broad-minded statesmanship and large-hearted sympathy.

## THE "STATESMAN"

As to Sir S. P. Sinha's fitness for the post conferred upon him, no one who knows him can entertain any doubt. He

has succeeded in every task to which he has set his hand, and the same qualities will assure his efficient discharge of his duties in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, if that is to be his destination. He possesses that rarest of gifts, sound commonsense. He is singularly free from illusions of any kind; he can recognise and appreciate points of view different from his own; and he can display that reasonableness and that practical spirit which appeal as strongly to deliberative assemblies as to judges on their bench. With the judicious fidelity of a good advocate, he has served his non-legal clients the Governments of India and of Bengal, as loyally as those litigants who formerly competed for his aid. It is certain that he will render the same skilled assistance to Mr. Montagu.

THE "SANJ VARTMAN"

By the presence of Sir Satyendra in the Ministry the whole British Empire will see that an Indian has been taken into the Ministry as a guarantee that India will not be forgotten when the British Government is engaged in considering the problems of the Empire. Sir Satyendra is a true patriotic son of India. Although he is a moderate in politics, he would be able to render the greatest possible service to the country.

## III. Personal Tributes

BABU BUPENDRANATH BASU

"All-India rejoices and thanks you for Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment. You have appealed to the imagination of India and done what the greatest Moghul Emperor Akbar did in the sixteenth century. I join my personal thanks."—*Telegram to the Premier.*

MR. LAJPAT RAI

The appointment of a Hindu (Indian) as a Parliamentary Under Secretary for India is an event of sufficient importance to justify the hope that a radical change is coming over the

spirit of British Imperialism, and that adequate constitutional changes may soon be introduced to give it a legal aspect, and an enduring one. The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha would be devoid of any significance if it were a mere personal compliment, or a mere sop to Indian Nationalism. The fact, however, that Mr. Montagu is the only Cabinet Minister who retains his old post in the reshuffling consequent upon the British elections gives us reason to think that Premier Lloyd George is at least in general accord with Mr. Montaugu's sentiments about the future constitution of India, and that by appointing Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary he wants to strengthen Mr. Montagu's hands.

Premier Lloyd George is reported to have said that the word " Empire " would henceforth disappear from the designation of the group of nations that in their collective capacity have thus far been called by that name. If that is true, British Imperialism must disappear, not only in name, but also in spirit. There must henceforth be a true sisterhood of free nations, call it commonwealth or league, whatever you will. If that should happen no one would be more delighted than the Indian Nationalists, because in spite of our strong dislike of the political and economical effects of British Imperialism in India, we believe that, on the whole, the British democracy is perhaps the finest in the political world of to-day. India will forget all the wrongs consciously or unconsciously inflicted on her in the past, if her future status as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth is conceded to her in practice and secured to her by law. If the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha is an indication of that change of spirit, we welcome it most heartily and congratulate the Premier on that step. If, on the other hand, it is not a sincere move, then it may be disastrous for the future peace of India; for she will lose all faith in the professions of British statesmen . . . There can be no doubt of his (Lord Sinha's) ability, honesty of purpose, and patriotism. Judging from political appointments of Indians made in India and in England within the last twelve months, it seems that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are determined to "rally the

moderates," a doctrine laid down by Lord Morley in theory only. What will be its effect on Indian Nationalism remains to be seen.—*Nation, New York.*

### SIR D. P. SARVADHIKARY

Satyendra Prasanna's success in life, which has nothing spasmodic or sporadic about it but which is distinguished by its steady, even, smooth and irresistable flow will have lessons and encouragement for our drooping graduates and under graduates.

While acclaiming Lord Sinha's deserved and timely elevation and duly thankful to those who have assisted in general uplifting of the people, the time for which is surely though slowly dawning many may go assisted by contemplation of the elements that have contributed towards the signal result. God-fearing and unbending rectitude, unyielding singleness of purpose and stern refusal to be a mere pawn however tempting or depressing the Government might have steadily carried him onwards and Bengal, that was not unnaturally jealous of Bombay's wealthy baronets, has now the distinction of furnishing India's first peer of the British realm—no longer an incongruity. The distinction is all the greater and acceptable because the peer is also a worthy son of the University. I therefore confidently ask his Colleagues to convey to him their heartiest felicitations and good wishes—I would add prayerful good wishes for he has arduous and exacting work before him.—*Calcutta University.*

### SIR RASHBEHARI GHOSE *

'It is unique. We are all delighted.'

### BABU MOTILAL GHOSE

The appointment is a miracle. The incident is very gratifying to the people of India; their gratitude to Mr. Lloyd George is profound. Sir S. P. Sinha is one of our best men.

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* The opinions of leading Bengalees are from the columns of the *Bengalee*.

## SIR BINODE MITTER

The news of the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India has been received with enthusiasm by Indians in Calcutta and I am sure the same feeling will be shared all over India by all sections of the Indian community irrespective of differences in politics. To my mind, it is a striking illustration of the sincerity of the British Government in its desire to fulfil the great promise of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The appointment opens the door to the centre of real power and responsibility where the destiny of the Indian Empire is shaped. It will catch the imagination of the people of this vast continent and will go a long way to dissipate the suspicion with which Government measures are treated by some sections of Indian politicians. The appointment is all the more satisfactory by reason of the outstanding ability of Sir S. P. Sinha and his intense patriotism.

## SIR P. C. RAY

'It is a distinct recognition of the fact that India will have no longer to be treated as a dependency, but as an equal partner with the self-governing states under the Empire. I take the appointment as an earnest of the far-reaching changes in the administration of India.'

## BABU KRISHNA KUMAR MITTER

It took his breath away to think of the appointment of a Bengalee to the position of an Under Secretary in a British Cabinet and to be elevated to the English Peerage.

## BABU SATYANANDA BOSE

The appointment is bound to give universal satisfaction. It is a distinct recognition of India's equal place within the Empire. It sets at rest the doubt about the sincerity of British statesmen in giving effect to the Declaration of the 20th August, 1917.

## Sir Nilratan Sircar

He could not sufficiently express his satisfaction at the announcement of Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as the Under Secretary of State for India and believed that there could be no difference of opinion in the country about the very great significance of a Bengalee being called upon to fill up such a responsible office in an English Ministry.

## Hon. Mr. P. C. Mitter

The appointment is an epoch-making one. Its constitutional importance is very great. Its political importance is equally great. It indicates that the British Cabinet realizes the importance of utilizing Indian opinion in the Council of the Empire. From the point of view of a gift and fair consideration of the Reform Scheme the appointment is very encouraging.

## Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerji

It is a great step—a step worthy of the best tradition of British statesmanship. The appointment of Sir Satyendra Sinha to the British Ministry makes it quite clear that India is destined to play an important part in the future Ministry of the British Empire.

## Rev. B. A. Nag

He thought the appointment would give satisfaction to all communities and showed the extent of trust and confidence British Government is prepared to repose in qualified Indians.

## Mr. H. N. Dutt

We welcome the appointment which is a distinct recognition of India's place in the Empire and is an evidence of Mr. Lloyd George's intentions in regard to the Reform proposals. It shows that Reform proposals will go through and there is no likelihood of their being shelved as many people in India apprehended.

## MR. B. C. CHATTERJI

By appointing Sir S. P. Sinha to this high position, England has furnished convincing proof, if proof indeed were needed in view of the promise embodied in the Reform Scheme, that India is from now to occupy the same place in the scheme of the British Empire as the dominions have done so long. And by calling a man like Sir Satyendra to the responsibilities of such a high office, the British Ministry is perhaps holding out to this country an example of the type of Indian who is to count in the Counsels of the new Imperialism on which England is deliberately entering—the type of Indian, that is to say, who combines courage and conscience with his patriotism, and does not prove himself either incapable of saying "No" to an Englishman when his country's interests require it of him, or incapable of even saying "Yes" to him, merely on the ground that an Indian must always differ from an Englishman.

## MR. C. C. GHOSE

I need hardly say that the feeling of the country is one of jubilation, irrespective of parties I do not think there is any warrant for the *Englishman* to say that the appointment will be distasteful to the men of the Congress now. It is perfectly true that Sir S. P. Sinha's view on present-day politics in India is what is known as the moderate view. The *Englishman* is wholly wrong in stating that the appointment will not be welcomed by Congressmen. I feel sure although I have no authority to say anything on behalf of the Congress, that the appointment will be popular.

## MR. J. N. ROY

I consider the appointment an event of immense significance. It is something to have lived to see a Bengalee piloting the Indian Reform Bill through the House of Lords. There is no other in whose hands our future could be more secure.

## H. E. Lord Chelmsford

I think there is no topic to which I can more aptly refer at the outset than the elevation of our friend, once familiar to us here as Sir Satyendra Sinha to the peerage and to a place in His Majesty's Government. I am sure that I shall be voicing the unanimous opinion of this assembly when I say that we are deeply gratified by the high distinction he has achieved and that we are confident he will rise equal to the great opportunity which, by his high intellectual qualities and his unfailing tact, he has created for himself in the central councils of the Empire. Personally I have always had the warmest friendship and admiration for Sir Satyendra and I have no reason to doubt that I shall consistently entertain similar feelings towards the Right Hon'ble the Lord Sinha. *Imperial Council, February 6th, 1919.*

## Lord Ronaldshay

I rejoice both on national and on personal grounds at this signal honour which has been conferred on Sir S. P. Sinha, I rejoice on national grounds because I see in it a striking proof and a remarkable example of the determination of His Majesty's Government to seek in ever-increasing degree the co-operation and the assistance of the prominent men of this country in the solution of those vast problems which are common to India and to Great Britain.—*Speech in the Bengal Council.*

## Mr. P. C. Lyon

The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under Secretary of State for India will be welcomed by all who are looking for a genuine advance towards Self-Government in India. It will be in the memory of your readers that it was Sir Satyendra who, as president of the Indian National Congress in 1915, pressed for a declaration of the policy and ultimate aims of England's Rule in India on the lines of the one actually made in Parliament some 18 months later. He has always been a sturdy advocate of progress in our administration, and

his appointment will be of welcome assistance to the Moderate Party, who are putting up a plucky fight at this moment against the extreme Home Rule faction. Signs have not been wanting that the Moderates had some fear lest the attacks made in reactionary quarters upon the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme might result in a whittling away of the reforms contained in it; but they will realize now that, whatever modifications may be found necessary in the details of the Scheme to facilitate its working and secure its main objects, the required changes will not be allowed to impair the responsibility and power which are to be entrusted by the Scheme to Indian hands.

## IV. Dinner at the Savoy Hotel

On Friday, March 7th, 1919, the Right Honourable Lord Sinha was entertained at Dinner at the Savoy Hotel, London, by his friends and admirers, both British and Indian upon the occasion of his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir presided. Among those present were:—

The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, His Highness the Aga Khan, Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu), Lord Carmichael, Earl of Donoughmore, Earl of Cromer, Marquess of Sligo, Lord Hardinge, Right Honourable Lord Islington, Lord Gainford, Lord Lamington, Lord Liegh, Lord Elphinstone, Maharaj Kumar of Bikanir, Lord Willingdon, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., Colonel Amery, M.P. (Under Secretary for the Colonies), Right Honourable H. Samuel, Right Honourable G. Barnes, M.P., Right Honourable Sir Henry Craik, M.P., Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P., Honourable Sir Arthur Lawley, Major Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Sir Thomas Berridge, Sir Walter R. Lawrence, Sir George Foster, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Robert Fulton, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Colonel Sir James Dunlop Smith, Sir Charles Bayley, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir

Murray Hammick, Sir J. D. Rees, M.P., Sir John Stanley, Lieut.-General Sir H. V. Cox, Mr. P. C. Lyon, Mr. W. Arches, Sir William Duke.

Among those who sent letters of regret were :—

The Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, Sir R. L. Borden (Canadian Prime Minister), Lord Curzon, W. J. Messey (Prime Minister, New Zealand), General Smuts, Sir William Lloyd (Prime Minister, Newfoundland), Mr. W. M. Hughes (Prime Minister, Australia), Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Lord Swaythling, Lord Parmoor, Lord Haldane, Lord Burnham, Lord Glenconner, Lord Stamfordham, Lord Reay, Lord Leverhulme, Lord Crawford, Lord Sandwich, Lord Milner, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Ribblesdale, Lord Ampthill, Lord Portsmouth, Lord Bryce, Lord Colebrook, Lord Sandhurst, Lord Inchcape, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Sir W. Bull, M.P., Mr, Walter Long, M.P., Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., Sir Eric Geddes, M.P., Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P., Sir Donald Maclean, M.P., Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., Mr. Rupert Gwynne, M.P., Sir Joseph Ward, Sir Joseph Cook, Major Astor, M.P., Sir Gordon Hewart, M.P., Sir A. Hamilton Grant, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Sir J. Herbert Roberts, Bart., Sir Thos. Barlow, Mr. Wickham Steed, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, Sir M. C. Seton, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Sir C. J. Lyall, Mr. B. Houghton, Dr. J. Pollen, Sir Arnold White, Mr. C. R. Burns, Sir Arther Steel-Maitland, M.P., Mr. W. Adamson, M.P., Sir E. Barrow, Sir John Simon, Mr. A. McCallum Scott, M.P., Sir James Brunyate, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. J. L. Garvin, Sir Valentine Chirol, and many others.

Lord Carmichael, on behalf of the Right Honourable Ameer Ali (who was absent from illness) and himself offered a brief welcome to the guests.

## THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR'S SPEECH

The Maharaja of Bikanir proposed the toast of the health of the principal guest. His Highness, who was received with loud applause, said :—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I consider it a privilege to

preside here in response to the invitation of the Committee and to propose the toast of the Right Honourable Baron Sinha of Raipur. (Cheers.) I have the greatest pleasure in thus associating myself whole-heartedly with his other friends—and their name is legion—to offer our warmest congratulations upon the honour which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to bestow upon Lord Sinha by his call to the Privy Council, his elevation to the peerage, and his appointment as Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for India. (Cheers.)

Another object of this function is to enable his fellow countrymen to give expression to their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which prompted the Secretary of State to suggest, and the Prime Minister to accept, the appointment. (Hear, hear.) India welcomes this step as clearly emphasizing the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry through, without unnecessary delay, a substantial measure of constitutional reform. We perceive in this appointment a striking reassertion of the purpose of the British Government to continue, and extend, in spirit and in letter, the fulfilment of the solemn pledges given in the Charter Act of 1833, and renewed in what all Indians treasure as their Magna Charta—Queen Victoria's gracious Proclamation of 1858, that race or creed is no disqualification for admission to offices under the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) Further, we rejoice to see in this selection yet another practical illustration of the welcome change in the angle of vision regarding Indian affairs, and of the better understanding and increased mutual confidence and respect between Englishmen and Indians, induced by a closer association and prolonged comradeship in arms in every theatre of the War. This longed-for consummation has been rendered further practicable by the complete victory of the forces of our King-Emperor and his Allies—to which, we are proud to feel, India has contributed her full share (cheers)—and the ultimate vindication of justice, right, and liberty, over might and brute force.

## LORD SINHA'S QUALIFICATIONS

My friendship with Lord Sinha, dating back many years, has been strongly cemented by our close contact as colleagues at the Paris Conference, and previously at the first Imperial War Cabinet and Conference. I can, therefore, speak with intimate knowledge of the guest of the evening. I do not propose to give a detailed catalogue of his many gifts and virtues, for to do so in his presence would put a strain upon one of the most conspicuous of his gifts—his unassuming, yet dignified, modesty. (Cheers.)

Lord Sinha combines a profound patriotism for his Mother Country with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown, and a grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with Great Britain has meant for his native land. (Hear, hear.) His high sense of public duty, his political insight, and his strength of character, have been demonstrated in many ways—and not least by his never having attempted to court cheap popularity by playing to the gallery. (Cheers.) He has always unhesitatingly spoken and acted according to the dictates of his conscience in support of what appeared to him to be the best for India, as also for the British Empire. Law, order, and good government have been as dear to him as the continued political advancement of his countrymen.

These characteristics have distinguished Lord Sinha, alike in exerting, in his private capacity as an Indian gentleman, that personal influence for the common good which his honourable record and untarnished reputation have won for him; in presiding over a session of the Indian National Congress; or in occupying the chair of Macaulay, and Maine. From that farsighted Viceroy, Lord Minto, downwards, it was universally admitted that he maintained the highest traditions of the Law Membership. And the same qualities have been shown on the three consecutive occasions of his representation of British India at the counsels of the Empire. His sterling worth has won for him both East and West of the Suez Canal the respect of Englishmen and Indians alike.

(Hear, hear.) Lord Sinha holds the wonderful record of being the first Indian appointed Standing Counsel, and afterwards Advocate-General, in Bengal, the first Indian to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; the first Indian to be made King's Counsel, the first Indian Statesman to be a Privy Councillor and to be a member of His Majesty's Government and of course, the first Indian Peer. (Cheers.) His country is justly proud of this great Indian who has led the way in so many spheres with such conspicuous merit and success.

It is, therefore, not too much to say that if there was one Indian whose appointment as Under Secretary was certain to evoke widespread approbation it was Lord Sinha. The cordial reception which with the innate sense of justice and fair play characteristic of the British people, has been extended to Lord Sinha's appointment with virtual unanimity by the responsible press and informed public opinion of this country have been noted with lively gratification in India.

But there have been a few—we are glad to feel, only a very few—exceptions which have been wounding to the self-respect of Indians, and which have shown how acute a form political and party differences and racial prejudice can take. In the short time at our disposal it is possible to deal only with a few of the insinuations and misrepresentations of those who, posing as experts in India, have been assiduously carrying on an anti-reform—I do not hesitate to say an anti-Indian—campaign.

## The Genesis of the Reforms

It is an open secret—and I hear that that popular Governor, Lord Willingdon (cheers), told the story in a sympathetic speech at the dinner recently given in his honour—that for some years the highest authorities in India had been urging upon His Majesty's Government the pressing necessity for a declaration of British policy in relation to Indian aspirations. I think I can add without impropriety that it subsequently fell to the lot of those of us who had the honour of

representing India here two years ago further to press this consideration. This view was accepted by that high-minded statesman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. His successor, within a few weeks of receiving the seals of office, made the most welcome and historic announcement of the 20th August, 1917 (cheers), with the full authority of His Majesty's Government and the concurrence of the Government of India. Two months later, in the Upper House, Lord Curzon showed the necessity for this action in the following eloquent terms :—

"You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean; and believe me, the event happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality, have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount [Lord Middleton] had been at the India Office in the past summer, he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its head, and to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet."

The Declaration and the official visit to India of Mr. Montagu, at the express invitation of the Viceroy, were productive of immense good (cheers)—a view which is widely shared by both Princes and peoples of India.

## THE ANTI-INDIAN AGITATION

We knew some of our old Anglo-Indian friends too well to expect them to be in real sympathy with such a Declaration. And no reasonable person will for a moment cavil at honest differences of opinion. But what do we find? On the 30th of

October, 1917—several days before Mr. Montagu had reached India on the mission with which His Majesty's Government had specially entrusted him—the Indo-British Association held its inaugural meeting in London. The minutes of its proceedings were published under the surprising title of 'The Interests of India,' (Laughter). Perhaps it was chosen because one of the professed objects of the Association is, we are told, to promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples. (Laughter.) The methods, arguments, and manifold activities of the Association have, however, singularly disguised this avowed aim, and all that we can say is—save us from such friends. (Cheers.)

The Association does not expressly oppose the Declaration. But its real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government is revealed in almost every phase of its activity. From the first it has been developing a ceaseless pamphleteering and press propaganda. The booklets and leaflets it issues so freely are intended to alarm the ordinary man as to the condition of India, to belittle in every possible way the educated classes of that country (and indeed everyone who has the temerity to disagree with its views), and to appeal to the personal and class interest at one time of the working man, at another—and more frequently—of business firms participating in Indian trade. Such firms were asked by circular, intended to be private, but which found a publicity unwelcome to the authors, for subscriptions to the Association of any sums from £1,000 downwards. The suggestion was made in this begging letter that such subventions could be regarded as 'insurance premiums for British interests in India.' We believe in an industrial as well as a political future for our country, but we have yet to learn that the Indian Empire exists for exploitation by any particular interests. As my right honourable friend, Mr. Chamberlain, publicly said when Secretary of State, India refuses to be regarded any longer in the economic sphere as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. But industrial development means increased purchasing power, and British trade stands to gain and not to lose thereby.

### UNJUSTIFIABLE ATTACKS

My Lords and Gentlemen, unless I have been greatly misinformed, I think that the word 'reaction' has not been entirely unknown in connection with your domestic policy. (Laughter.) And one section of your extremists in this country—for India has no monopoly of this class of people (laughter)—are sounding shrill notes of alarm about India. Without going back to earlier occasions, we recollect that similar cries were raised some twelve years ago, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration; but with this difference, that as there is now an Indo-British Association, the anti-reform agitation is more noisy and persistent. Uneasily conscious that they are fighting a bad case, the Association—and in my remarks to-night I include generally the writers and speakers who have been co-operating in the campaign—freely resort to wholesale vituperation and personal abuse. Indians—including the dangerous and scheming Bengali peer on my right (laughter)—have been indiscriminately branded as agitators, and India represented as seething with sedition and crime.

The policies of four consecutive Secretaries of State—Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Montagu—and of three consecutive Viceroys—Lords Minto, Hardinge, and Chelmsford (cheers)—have been criticised in the most unjust terms. In fact, the 'non-contents' would have you believe that they are right and that the Prime Minister, His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Government of India are all wrong. (Laughter.) We are even asked to believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are out to weaken British authority in India and that they are courting a grave political disaster. The burden of their jeremiad comes to this: Carry the reforms through, aim at responsible Government in India, and you strike a blow at the rule of the King-Emperor in India. But they have deliberately suppressed the fact that the Indian leaders fully recognize and have repeatedly stated that their

ideal of self-government can only be realized by India remaining an integral part of the British Empire. This recognition is prompted, not only by that deep and universal loyalty of the Indian people to their beloved Sovereign which their religion and traditions enjoin, but also by what has been termed 'reasoned attachment.'

## The Rowlatt Report

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of 'Danger in India: Sedition and Murder,' an annotated epitome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of these findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to the nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. (Cheers.) The *Times of India*, an English owned and edited journal, which merits as fully to-day, as when uttered, Lord Curzon's description as the greatest newspaper in Asia—in an article headed 'The danger in England'—has characterized the comments of the pamphlet as 'conspicuous for their deliberate admixture of lies and bad logic. (Cheers.) After giving chapter and verse in support of this statement, the *Times of India* concludes:—

'We confess to a feeling of shame when we find Englishmen banding together, as they are doing in London, to oppose the Reform scheme by every method, fair or foul, that they can think of. It is the final stage surely on the slippery path of dishonest politics when the Indo-British Association joins hands with the Extremists not only in opposing the Reform scheme, but in an attack on the Moderate Party.'

It has even been stated that Lord Sinha's Peerage and appointment will be resented by the Indian Army. Now, I

claim some acquaintance with that Army. I have, in participation with it, had the honour of fighting under the British flag in Asia, and Europe—(Loud Applause)—my first campaign dating back nineteen years. My own subjects freely enlist in the Indian Army. I have no hesitation in contradicting this absurd allegation, and I only wish our critics had been present in Paris the other day when, on our visiting together a Club for Indian Troops, three very lusty cheers were given in honour of Lord Sinha. (Hear, hear.) It cannot too often be emphasized that India, especially in the last decade or so, has been progressing at such a rapid rate that the people who left the country even five years ago are not entitled to speak as experts. And it is all very well to refer to isolated incidents and opinions of individuals—usually anonymous—claiming to represent this or the other class in India. What India asks is, that her affairs should be judged as a whole and by the public declarations of her responsible leaders.

## Declarations of British Statesmen

We also take our stand upon the far-sighted declarations and policies of a succession of English statesmen who have been associated with the Indian administration. The Indians are nothing if they are not loyal to their friends, and gratefully responsive to fairness, sympathy, and understanding. And let me say frankly that Indians, Princes and people, indignantly resent the abuse to which Lord Hardinge, Mr. Montagu, and Lord Chelmsford have been subjected. (Loud cheers.) We in India often wonder whether it is realized fully in this country how inestimable was the value of Lord Hardinge's services during his Viceroyalty. (Applause.) At the luncheon given to the Indian representatives last year Lord Sinha rightly interpreted the general feeling in India when he assured Mr. Montagu of India's trust in him and of the warmest gratitude and approbation of her people for his courage, devotion, and statesmanship. (Cheers.) May I take this opportunity of assuring Mr. Montagu of the high regard

and friendship of the Princes of India and of the warmth of their feelings towards him? When the heat and strife of political controversy have passed, the names of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford will go down to posterity as of two great Englishmen who helped in the upbuilding of a stronger imperial fabric in the post-war reconstruction. (Applause.)

## The Ruling Princes

Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a first-hand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views. (Cheers.) The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile not only to Lord Sinha's appointment, but also to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England, for the second time, the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.

May I preface what I have to say with a word of explanation? As is well-known the Indian Princes belong to no political parties, whether here or in India. Their territories, representing an area of about one-third of the vast Indian Empire, are outside the limits of British India proper, and British jurisdiction is inapplicable therein. The interests of the Princes and their subjects—who constitute more than one-fifth of the entire Indian population—are thus already safe-guarded in many ways by treaties of friendship and alliance concluded, almost invariably at least a century ago, and sometimes longer between the Rulers and the East India Company. When the administration of British India was transferred to the Crown more than sixty years ago, these treaties were accepted as permanently binding both by Queen Victoria and the British Parliament. Such assurances have been graciously reiterated by each successive British Sovereign in regard to the pledges and rights secured by the Princes through such treaties.

It follows that in matters relating to administrative reform in British India, the Ruling Princes are, in the direct sense disinterested parties, actuated by no selfish considerations or personal motives and that they have no axe to grind. I hope that their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire need no words from me. (Cheers.) Their only concern is to see such measures adopted as will further popularize, strengthen, and preserve the ties that bind England and India together. They have amply demonstrated time and again that in any matter endangering the Empire they can always be relied upon unhesitatingly to fight for the British Throne and to range themselves in a solid Phalanx on the side of constituted authority. (Hear, hear.) Nothing is more true than what has been repeatedly stated by the high officers of the Crown and the Princes themselves that there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes.

Is it conceivable therefore that the Princes would be in sympathy with, much less advocate, any measure of a revolutionary nature or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India.

## SYMPATHY WITH POLITICAL ADVANCE

Nearly two years ago speaking publicly in London for the Princes, I stated that the rulers of the Indian States, far from being alarmed at or resenting any political advance in British India, would rejoice at such progress. Nevertheless persistent allegations to the contrary have continued to be made by Lord Sydenham and others. It has even been stated in a recent book, described in Mr. Garvin's paper, by one speaking with authoritative knowledge of India, as 'a harmful and spiteful contribution to the study of Indian reform,' that some of us (and the reference to myself is obvious) do not represent the views of our brother Princes; whilst in another page it is definitely asserted that the Maharaja of Patiala and myself were merely re-echoing the 'gentle words' of Lord Sinha! (Laughter.)

I propose, therefore, to show categorically and conclusively the enlightened and favourable views held by the Princes of India generally in this connection. This is what the late Nizam of Hyderabad, the most senior of the Ruling Princes of India, wrote officially in 1909 to Lord Minto regarding the Morley-Minto Reforms and Lord Sinha's appointment as the first Indian Member of Council:

'. . . Your Excellency will . . . quite understand how gratified I was to learn of the wise, generous, and liberal policy pursued by your Excellency and the Secretary of State for India in giving effect to the principles announced in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 . . . by appointing an Indian as a member of your Executive Council and two Indians as members of the Council of the Secretary of State. This liberal policy, as also the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, will, I earnestly trust, serve to allay the present unrest and to remove altogether the seditious movement which is happily confined to a very small minority.'

Without any disrespect, it can be said that his late Highness belonged to the old school, so that his observations are all the more significant.

The following is to be found in the Princes' speech in reply to the Viceroy's address at the Conference of Ruling Princes, held in Delhi in November, 1917. which I was charged by a large and representative gathering of Princes to read :

'In your speech your Excellency has referred to the recent pronouncement made by the Secretary of State. The loyal attachment of the Ruling Princes to the King-Emperor is proverbial, and we consequently rejoice at the further accession of strength that this pronouncement and the impending political changes will bring to his Imperial Majesty's Empire by the enhanced loyalty, happiness, and contentment of his Indian subjects. As Indians again we rejoice at the aspirations of our fellow-countrymen in British India being thus further met by this sagacious act of British statesmanship. Might we ask your Excellency kindly to convey to Mr.

Montagu on his arrival here assurances of our warm welcome and our good wishes for the success of his mission ?'

I might explain that the Princes' speech does not represent the views of any individual Ruler, but that the draft is adopted only after the most careful scrutiny and previous discussion at a general meeting of the Princes.

In a note by Sir John Hewett, criticizing the Indian Reform proposals, which was issued by the Indo-British Association, he said:

'It is easier to ascertain who will be opposed to the scheme than who will support it' and included the Ruling Princes amongst the various 'interests' who, he added: 'it is certain . . . will be opposed to it,' and wrote:

'If the Maharaja of Patiala correctly interprets the feeling of the Ruling Princes, they will assuredly not be found to be enthusiastic supporters of the Scheme.'

This imputation brought forth an immediate and clear public denial from his Highness.

## The Princes and the Report

Again, at the Conference held only in January last, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, one of the most important Princes of India, in reading the reply of the Princes to the Viceroy's address, said:—

'It inspires us with the brightest hopes for the good of humanity and the peace of the world to find the British Throne, to which we are bound by very close ties, more secure than ever before . . . This security, which is broad-based upon the affection and goodwill of the people is, we firmly believe, going shortly to find its counterpart in the adoption of liberal measures, calculated to improve the machinery of the Government of India. These measures, which are irrevocably promised, will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India, and the ampler they can be made, with a due regard for the conditions that are, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result . . . both the amplitude and the expedition are assured by the

combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, *viz.*, the continuation of your Excellency's Viceroyalty and the re-appointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the right hon'ble E. S. Montagu. The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman, Sir Satyendra Sinha, to the peerage, and his appointment to an office in the British Government, is an example of insight, great political imagination, and what is even more important of genuine honesty of purpose, and we refuse to credit the libel, from wherever it emanates, that in this measure of simple justice to a people there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics.'

Further comment is surely unnecessary, but, if the Indo-British Association is still unconvinced, I shall be happy to publish several more speeches in the same strain made by Princes representing the various provinces of India in the last few years. (Laughter and cheers.)

## A Turning Point

My Lords and gentlemen, we are now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the ægis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding Indian constitutional reform, ultimately reached in this country, must irrevocably affect, for good or ill, India's future political progress. (Cheers.) Thus a very grave responsibility lies on His Majesty's Government, and the British Parliament and people. It rests with them, by seizing the golden opportunity now offered of handling the Indian problem in a sympathetic and liberal spirit, with imagination, breadth of view and boldness, to bring about the greater happiness and the enhanced loyalty and contentment of the people of India. Thereby they will be doing a great service not only to India but also to the Empire as a whole, and will be acting in accord with the best traditions of Great Britain, the nursing mother of representative institutions and free nations. She has taught us to appreciate fully the rights and liberties of citizenship, which now more than at any previous time have become the natural aim and desire of every civilized people all the world

over. Not only will India be placed well on the road to the goal of responsible government, as an integral part of the Empire she will be enabled to bear a still greater share in Imperial burdens and responsibilities. A great deal of what has come to be known as 'legitimate unrest' will further subside, and the anxiety and uncertainty in men's minds will be replaced by an ever increasing confidence in the fulfilment of Britain's glorious mission in India. Instead of being discredited and disheartened, the ranks of sobriety, moderation, and restraint will receive constant accessions of strength. A loyal, developing, and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire. (Cheers.)

### An Urgent Claim

On the other hand, should reactionary tendencies prevail in wrecking or whittling down the reforms or leading to inadequate or half-hearted measures inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration, a situation of extreme gravity will be created. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the vast Empire under his sway, I wish to sound this solemn note of warning. Should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform be followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong will be dominant throughout the length and breadth of India. (Loud cheers.) The full force of that dissatisfaction no man can gauge; but it must be obvious that in comparison with it the unrest and discontent of recent years would seem small. Should such a situation ensue, it is a matter for earnest consideration, whether the Indian people would be held solely responsible at the bar of history for results which would be as deplorable as they would be unfair both for Great Britain and for India. Let me assure you as an Indian, that India's Princes and people ardently desire progress without disorder, reform without revolution. (Cheers.)

We are persuaded to expect better things than that the British Government and Parliament should accept the guidance of reactionaries whose activities and constant libels on the

Indian peoples are responsible in no small degree for the unrest, constitute a barrier to better feelings and closer understanding between Indians and Englishmen, and have so baneful an influence upon impressionable youths. Let us not forget Edmund Burke's striking axiom that 'a great empire and little minds go ill together'. As Lord Carmichael, another popular Governor, pointed out in the House of Lords last August, we cannot stand still; we must either go back or go forward. To go back, he said, is a policy the people of the Empire will not tolerate. Liberality, sympathy, and bold statesmanship have invariably answered well and advanced the greatness of the Empire in the past—notably in the case of the South African Union—and they will certainly not be misplaced in the India of to-day. (Cheers.) Some two and a half years before the outbreak of war His Gracious Majesty said in his ever-memorable speech at Calcutta:

'Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy: to-day, in India I give to India the watch-word of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life.'

India has amply proved her right to share in the fairer and better world which we have all been promised on every hand at the victorious termination of the mighty struggle. If the British Government will but seize occasion by the hand to shape the promised reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity they will confirm the solidarity of the widely varied dominions of His Imperial Majesty George V by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. (Loud applause.)

My Lords and gentlemen, I give you the toast of Lord Sinha.

## H. H. THE AGA KHAN

H. H. the Aga Khan, proposing the toast of the guests, paid a tribute to Mr. Montagu's breadth of view and statesmanship. Mr. Montagu had a passionate affection for India, and he was fully confident that while Mr. Montagu was

Secretary for India no effort would be wanting to secure a great advance by placing India on the high road which destiny proclaimed for her in the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. The Aga Khan urged prompt completion of the Reform Bill. India's absorbing desire was to be a dominion under the British Crown. The keynote of India's aspirations in which Mahomedans fully participated, was loyalty to the King-Emperor. The Mahomedans had shown a splendid spirit in the war. All they now asked was the application of the Wilsonian principles of peace reconstruction to Islamic countries, where Muslims had been long established and where they were in a majority, or where even in a large minority, they should not be exposed to proscription in, or the monstrous idea of, expatriation from the countries where they had been settled for centuries. He contended that the Wilsonian principles should be applied to liberated Mahomedan countries in Central Asia and the Caucasus. He referred to the singleness of purpose and the devotion with which the Maharajah of Bikanir, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu had put the Muslim case in Paris. Many friends had told him that the Maharajah of Bikanir and Lord Sinha fully realised that on these external questions of Indian interests were Mahomedan questions alone. He himself once found them at mid-night preparing a memorandum concerning the Islamic case.

Referring to the retention of communal representation of Muslims, the Aga Khan submitted that Mr. Gokhale and other brilliant and far-sighted Hindu leaders ardently believed that it was necessary, and one of the surest ways of promoting happiness and unity of the whole Indian family. Dealing with occasional friction between Muslims and Hindus, the Aga Khan declared that the remedy was the spread of education and industrial development.

## Mr. Montagu's Speech

The following is the full text of Mr. Montagu's speech :—

After this substantial toast, gastronomic and intellectual, I

am reluctant to detain you many minutes. But I do want to take this opportunity for a little plain speaking (a voice: That's what we want). The politician who regards it the prime function and duty of his life to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian Empire labours under the disadvantage of the rareness of occasions on which he can speak to audiences in England of the situation in the Indian Empire. If, therefore, I abuse your hospitality to-night, it is because I have got the chance of saying just one or two things that are uppermost in my mind.

It is now a little more than eighteen months since I accepted the responsible and high office I now hold and my experience in that time gathered in India, in England and in Paris, has amplified and magnified the conviction with which I became Secretary of State that the reform of the Government machine in India is vital and urgent and ought not to be delayed. (Loud cheers.) The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel to-day is that Empire can alone be justified by the freedom and liberty which it guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendency and domination (Loud cheers.) Therefore I say, my Lords and gentlemen, that those who would stand in the way of Indian reform in this direction are not only in my opinion enemies of the British Empire but are setting themselves athwart of world-wide influences. (Cheers.)

I am part author of a scheme of Indian reform published for criticism. Never has anything been asked for to which a more generous response has been given. (Laughter.) In pamphlets and in books, in streams and deluge criticism has poured forth, much of it helpful and constructive but also much of it prejudiced and ill-willed. His Highness, the Maharaja and Lord Sinha have said something about the effect of such strictures upon youth. As I listened to their speeches I felt that they conveyed a lesson for those who write about India of the harm that can be done by ill-considered words, and the mischief that can be wrought by forgetting the sensitiveness of people

who are striving for progress. For the British politician abuse and criticism, however ill-founded and imaginative, are the bread and butter upon which he lives. (Laughter.) Sometimes it is a matter of astonishment to those who do not live in England that we hardly take the trouble to answer those who make abuse their stock in trade. People who write and speak on India, however, often forget that their words are for more than domestic consumption.

## The True Decentralisation

The one thing proposed by the Viceroy and myself which seems to meet with universal satisfaction is the great project of decentralisation. (Cheers.) In a speech I once made and which I have not since been allowed to forget, and before I was appointed to my present office, I dragged into a discussion in the House of Commons on Mesopotamia, by the kindness and toleration of the speaker, a picture of an India for which we should strive; consisting of a group of self-governing provinces or dominions, masters in their own houses, joined together for the common purposes of the country as a whole by the Government of India, and joined by a never-ending bond to the Empire which made them and gave them their liberty. (Cheers.) Now nothing on the administrative side seems to me so obvious in the present administration than the irritation which is felt by those who constitute the Government of India with the horrible institution called the India office. (Laughter.) It is only equalled by the irritation that is felt by those who constitute the provincial Governments with the horrible institution which is known as the Government of India. (Laughter.) My Lords and gentlemen, this phenomenon, which is so shocking when you meet it in a partnership arrangement, seems to me inevitable when one authority sits on the head of another. I well remember looking at an excellent picture in "Punch," drawn, I think, by Du Maurier, of the inside of an episcopal palace. when a letter was opened from a rector asking permission to do something or other in his parish. The bishop was warming

himself in front of the fire, his wife was knitting in the arm-chair, and their small son in a sailor suit was laboriously writing a letter : " Dear Mr. So-and-So, Daddy says you mustn't." (Laughter.) That is the irritating part. Some inscrutable decree is passed many hundreds of miles away from Delhi or London, often unintelligible to those who receive it, preventing the man on the spot from doing what he wants. Harmony cannot be obtained, a quick solution of present difficulties cannot be achieved unless the Government of India is allowed to run its own affairs, and the Governments of the provinces are similarly given a free hand (Applause).

Yes; but where does that take us? There can be only one substitute for authority, from above. There can be only one substitute, for the ultimate control of the British Parliament—and that is the control of the people of India. (Loud and long continued cheering.) If I stopped at decentralisation I should have the unanimous support of the Indo-British Association. (Laughter.) The Governor would no longer be hampered by tedious and irritating despatches from London he would be ruler of his own country without the necessity of bothering about the opinions of his Legislative Council. The purpose of the Viceroy and myself, however, is by no means to increase the bureaucratic character of Governments in the province. Decentralisation can only be effective and autonomy can only be brought about by the substitution of responsible Government for government by the India Office. (Cheers.)

## GOVERNMENT BY VOTE

But where does this lead us? It means that the substitute of Government by despatch is Government by vote. It has often been said that the reforms we propose have the unfortunate feature that India is unfit to govern itself. To-night I am surrounded by Indians who hold, or have held, high places. We are convinced of the fitness of many. What we want to see is how India learns to use the vote on which the whole machinery will depend. (Cheers.) Can Indians grudge a few years in which to see how the franchise works? How

many people vote in India to-day? Only a few handfuls. The work of Lord Southborough's Committee will enfranchise millions of Indians. Will they vote? Will they know what a vote means and what can be achieved by it? Will the constituencies which the Committee will devise be representative of the Indian Empire? If the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth of self-government in India we must have a few years in which to study the stages of that growth; and Indians have no right to tell us that in providing for this we are acting too cautiously or with too much hesitation.

## Communal Electorates

The first thing to do is to devise a representative electorate. That brings me to the subject of communal representation. I repeat that to my mind this is an unfortunate expedient fraught with many risks. (Hear, hear.) However, everything else, theoretical and practical, must be sacrificed to obtaining representative legislative councils. If communal electorates are the only means to this end,—provided that they are designed to give the representation demanded by the necessity of the case—well, then, there must be communal representation. (Hear, hear.) But if such electorates are advocated simply, as I fear they are sometimes advocated, because there are still in the world believers in the old theory that if you split a country up you can govern it more easily, then communal representation is to be rejected. (Cheers.)

I hasten to add that I made an exception for the Mahomedans, to whom we are bound by pledges as solemn as any Government ever gave to any people. To these pledges I am convinced that we shall remain faithful—(cheers)—until the day comes when the Mahomedans themselves tell us that there is no necessity for separate electorates.

May I say one more thing, prompted by the remarks of His Highness the Aga Khan, I for one do not believe that there is any essential antagonism between the interests of one section of the Indian people and any other. (Loud

cheers.) If in the Peace Conference it is unfortunate that India is represented by three men none of whom is a Mahomedan, I can assure the Mahomedans of India that their peculiar interests and aspirations are as zealously voiced and as sympathetically considered by my two colleagues and myself, as the opinions, desires and wishes of any other section of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

## THE SERVICES AND REFORM

I want to say one word about the Indian Civil Service. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking men that any unprejudiced and well-informed observer of Indian history and conditions will agree that the services rendered to the country by the Indian Civil Service will stand for ever conspicuous as the greatest work ever accomplished in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another. But it is sometimes said that the result of the reforms proposed will be to alter and prejudice the position of the Indian Services. Yes, it will alter the position. This is a time for plain speaking. The announcement of the 20th August, 1917, promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers.) If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M. Government becomes meaningless. (Here, hear.) For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great Imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day. (Loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in any country

brings out of retirement those who walk, dangerously as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly I do not know that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interest of the service. (Loud cheers).

## Work of the Transitional Stages

I turn from the position of the Civil Service to that of Indian workers. It is for Parliament to decide what the Act will be. What I do know is that the reforms that are wanted for India to-day are not concessions flung to the hungry politician, but the opening of the clearly marked road which will lead the people surely to their appointed destiny. (Loud cheers.) Nothing matters to me—the irritation, the peculiar anomalies, the novelties, the friction which are prophesied—so much as to be sure of seeing before us the road we are going to take. (Cheers.) Supposing as I claim for the reform scheme which the Viceroy and I have published for criticism, that the future stages of progress depend, not upon agitation, but on the principles that constitute the essential ingredients of future stages what have Indians to do? I tell you that there is only one way of ensuring rapid progress along that road, and that way does not lie in making political speeches, abusing a race or class, or abusing your partners in the great experiment. Is there nothing definite that Indians can do during the transitional stages? No tongue can exaggerate the benefits of British rule in India. But education is still confined to a very small minority. Industrial development is in its infancy. Does anybody in this audience realise that last year in the great influenza epidemic no fewer than six million people died in India? In the State ruled by our chairman, I believe that one out of seven died. The horrors of war are nothing to the influenza epidemic which has visited the whole earth. But has not the exceptional mortality in India something to do with poverty and the consequent

lack of resisting power? (Cheers.) I say, supposing the questions of public health, education and industrial development were in the power of Indians to work out for themselves would these be dishonourable tasks? Would they not be the tasks for laying the foundation of a great Empire in the future?

When I was very young I was a great admirer of the game of cricket. One thing impressed upon my youthful observation was always this, that each member of the team was left to discharge the function for which he was responsible. If the whole team ran after a particular ball it fell through their fingers. Nothing was worse for the side at the wickets than to spend its time in the pavillion criticising the batsmen. Let us see that in the new India the functions of each man and of each partner in the combination are defined, and let them each fulfil their appointed tasks without trying to interfere with the functions of others.

### BRITISH AND INDIAN CO-OPERATION

The basis of this dinner is the honour we desire to do our guest Lord Sinha. He and I are called upon to work together as colleagues in the India Office. It was a proud moment of my life when I learned that the recommendation for Lord Sinha as my comrade has been accepted by His Majesty, though at the time I felt a sorrow which you will all understand at the loss of Lord Islington—(cheers) to whom I owe very much for his friendship and assistance, and to whom India owes very much. (Cheers.) Lord Sinha's association with me has only been a short one: but we are associated together with the single purpose of benefiting the Indian Empire. It seems to me that if you forget personalities and just think of an Engiishman and an Indian thus working together, in the control of Indian administration, you will have an excellent example of the co-operation and unison between the two races which has been and, believe me, will continue to be a creative force of all the best work to be done for India. I do not believe that as has been said, the experiment upon

which Government has embarked is a leap in the dark. I believe that the growth of Parliamentary and self-governing institutions is an inevitable consequence and result of British rule. Whether I consider the aspirations of India, or the interests of the British Empire, or the work which has been done by my fellow-countrymen in India, I feel confident that the result of their labour in association with Indians, the only vision that they ought to desire to see achieved is a peaceful and prosperous India, in which Indians will walk the high ways of their own country conscious that they are to be the controllers of its destinies. (Loud and long continued cheers.)

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